SCROLLS

ESSAYS ON JEWISH HISTORY AND LITERATURE, AND KINDRED SUBJECTS

G. DEUTSCH

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To George B. Hatfield,

With best wishes

Herman Hilfsum

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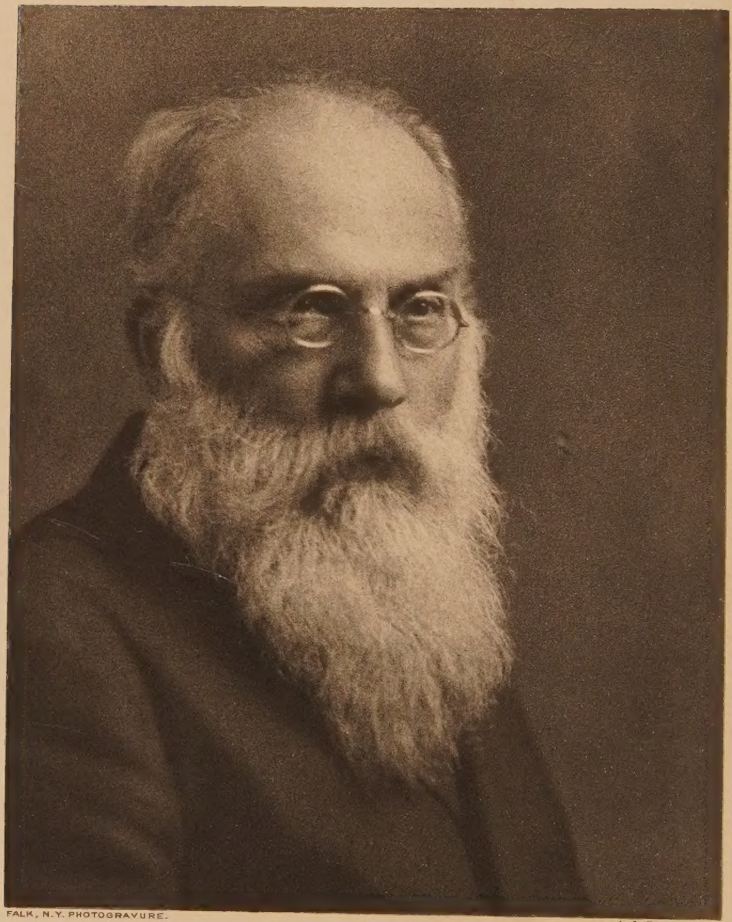
GOTTHARD DEUTSCH



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Gotthard Deutsch.

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ESSAYS ON JEWISH HISTORY AND LITERATURE, AND KINDRED SUBJECTS

By

GOTTHARD DEUTSCH 1859 -

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

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התורה מגלה מגלה נתנה

The Torah was given in single scrolls.

—*Gittin*, 60, *a*.

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CONTENTS.

Introduction 7
Philosophy of Jewish History 77
Minima Curat Historicus 99
De Minimis Curat Historicus 115
Everybody Says So 121
1815 to 1915 127
History Repeats Itself 145
The Year 1903 in Jewish History 165
The Year 5665 189
The Year 5666 203
Judaism in 5668 213
The Year 5669 245
The Year 5670 271

INTRODUCTION.

THIS collection of essays, which were published within the last twentyfive years, in various periodicals, yearbooks, and similar works, are presented to the public as a specimen vitae humanae. Many of them I would not write today, most of them I would modify, and others, I freely admit, I wish I never had written. The uncertainty in the history of our older literature, and my appreciation of the great loss we have suffered by the absence of correct data about the authors of certain statements in rabbinical literature, make me feel the importance of collecting even the insignificant. The biographer of Charlemagne tells us of a traveling merchant, whom the brilliant emperor used in playing a trick on a greedy bishop.[1] How important would it be to us, did we possess the letters which this man, probably living in Italy, sent to his family, during his journey. Such letters were in those days commonplace, but now they would be a valued source of historic information. Isaac of Durbalo, in the twelfth century was hardly a genius. He may not have been, even in his day a scholar of note. Yet if he had written something about his journey from France to Olmuetz,[2] desscribing the manner in which he travelled, the business in which he was engaged, the hospitality which was

[1]Graetz: Geschichte, V, 182. 3. ed. Freytag: Bilder aus d. deutschen Vergangenheit. 1, 322, Leipsic, 1888.

[2]Mahzor Vitry, p. 388, Berlin, 1896-1897.

offered to him by his co-religionists, we would greet it as an important historic document.

Nothing more is needed to corroborate this statement, than to point to the valuable information which we received through the publication of the memoirs of Glueckel of Hameln,[3] twenty years ago. The authoress was a woman, undoubtedly of higher attainments than the average of her class two hundred years ago, but her mental horizon is limited to petty congregational gossip and family affairs. The same may be said, with some difference as to the character of the author, with regard to the memoirs of Jacob Emden.[4] May I not flatter myself, that ideas which I expressed on current topics, since 1877, may, just because they reflect the fleeting ideas of the days in which they were written, prove of more than personal interest. The latter, however,—I freely admit—was the main motive, which guided me in accepting the offer of the Alumni of the Hebrew Union College, to place a sum of money at my disposal on the occasion of my twenty-fifth anniversary as teacher of that institution, and I accepted it for the purpose of collecting for my own satisfaction these scattered products of my pen.

In old Jewish literature the author disappeared behind his book. Of our mediaeval authors, almost down to the eighteenth century, we may say that their biographies are their books. Of many works, whose time and authorship are of prime importance, the writers' lives are unknown to us. It is certainly a source of regret, that a book, reflecting the

[3]Jewish Encyclopedia, vi, 197.

[4]Megillat Sefer, Warsaw, 1896.

spirit of the age, and the country where it originated, like Pirke Rabbi Eliezer, cannot be fully explained, because we are left to guess its origin. It is, therefore, not personal vanity, which inspired me in prefacing the collection of my essays with a biographical sketch, intended only to serve future generations as a mirror of conditions, in many instances representing a remote past, and important because they coincide with an era of transition.

My native town is Kanitz, or as it is now officially called, Stadt Kanitz, located in the Austrian province of Moravia, about ten miles southwest of Bruenn, the capital of the province. The latest census gives to the town 3,022 inhabitants. There were hardly any more in the olden times, though it is quite an old city, whose existence can be traced back to the thirteenth century. The Jewish congregation is undoubtedly much younger. The synagogue bears as the date of erection the year 412 A. M., or 1652. The oldest tombstones in the cemetery date from the beginning of the eighteenth century. This, however, is not significant, because owing to the sloping ground and the soft soil, a great number of tombstones, and among them probably the oldest, are buried in the ground. There is, besides, an older cemetery, which in my boyhood days was only known by two illegible tombstones. The probabilities are that the Jewish congregation originated, when in 1454, owing to the agitation of the fanatic Franciscan friar, John Capistrano, the Jews were expelled from Bruenn, as well as from other "royal" cities of the province. The fifteenth century was the

period of expulsions, due to the jealousy of the burghers of the larger cities, who, having obtained an autonomous administration, tried to rid themselves of their Jewish competitors. We find, therefore, all over Germany—and Moravia, as part of the kingdom of Bohemia belonged to the German Empire—the Jews, expelled from large cities, usually succeeded in getting permission to settle on the estate of some noble in the vicinity of the city from which they were expelled. This probably was the origin of the Jewish settlement in Kanitz. It contained, up to 1848, while the number of Jews was limited by law, 111 Jewish families, which, as the number was often transgressed, represented about six hundred souls.

My own family, on my father's side, and probably on my mother's side also, was settled there since the seventeenth century. On the mother's side, there is no documentary evidence older than 1795, when her grandfather, Joseph Wiener, died, but the family name would indicate that her ancestors were among the exiles, expelled from Vienna in 1670, and of whom, as we know, the greater part found refuge in Moravia. On the father's side the information is more exact. The Memor Book of the congregation, which was written in 1765, but is in its older parts copied from an older book, dating at least from the beginning of the seventeenth century, contains as the oldest name of the family, Meir Jacob, the son of Joseph, who died Sivan 4, 466 (May 17, 1706), and of his wife, Schoendl, who died Adar 12, 474 (February 12, 1714). In honor of their memory, their son, Joseph, donated a

curtain to the synagogue. This son Joseph who died Nissan 20, 483 (April 15, 1723), is already better known. His tombstone, which is well preserved, praises him as a leader in the service, and as a successful advocate of the congregation. He was one of the elders of the Jewish organization of the province, and his signature is found under some of the resolutions passed at the regular conventions of the provincial Jewry.[5] He evidently died young, for his wife, Hannah, the daughter of Rabbi Eliezer, survived him fully half a century. She died Ab 12, 533 (Aug. 1, 1773). Her father, Rabbi Eliezer, or with his full name, Jacob Eliezer Brunschwig, was the most glorious reminiscence of the family. He was the head of the rabbinical college (Klaus) of Mannheim at the time when it was opened in 1708, afterwards rabbi of Kanitz, and at the end of his life, rabbi of Vienna, where he died on the first day of Passover, 489 (April 15, 1729).[6] Judging by his name and by the fact that he came from Mannheim, before he was rabbi of Kanitz, it would appear probable that he was a native of western Germany. This impression is strengthened by the fact that Samson Wertheimer, the powerful financier, who was a native of Worms, called him to Vienna. As the Jews of Vienna had no corporate rights until 1848, Jacob Eliezer was nominally private chaplain to Samson Wertheimer. He

[5]Wolf Die alten Statuten der juedischen Gemeinden in Maehren 1 p. 146, Vienna, 1880, where Tentsch ought to be Teutsch.

[6]Kaufmann: Letzte Vertreibung der Juden von Wien, p. 82, Vienna, 1889. Loewenstein: Geschichte der Juden in der Kurpfalz, p. 171, Frankfurt a.M., 1895. Unna: Die Lemle Moses Klausstiftung, p. 9-10, F. a. M., 1908. Lewin: Geschichte der badischen Juden, p. 57, Karlsruhe, 1909.

was certainly a remarkable Talmudic scholar, and his plan of a Talmudic concordance, a work still found in manuscript in the royal library of Berlin, shows that he had a systematic mind. His son, Joshua Selig, who died October 17, 1762, mentions in an appeal numerous works on rabbinic theology, including Cabbala, which his father left, and which he desired to publish. He did not succeed, and even the authorship of the concordance was denied to R. Eliezer by Steinschneider,[7] who on the ground of false information, ascribed it to another Rabbi Eliezer, officially called Lazar Fried, who died as rabbi of Kanitz in 1819, and was a great grandson of Jacob Eliezer.

The family name of the son Joshua Selig is unknown to me, and I do not know whether he left any descendants. The memory of the ghetto is very short. Jacob Eliezer left various daughters, who were married to rabbinical scholars. One of these was Eliakim Gottschalk Wannefried, who is mentioned in the famous controversy on the heresy charges brought against Jonathan Eybeschuetz. His grandson was Rabbi Lazar Fried, previously mentioned, and another descendant is Phineas Loeb Frieden, who died as Rabbi of Komorn, Hungary, June 11th, 1873.[8] He represented the orthodox traditions of the family, while a descendant of another daughter, Moses Kunitzer,[9] named for the city from which the family originally came, is one of the few rabbis of

[7]Katalog der hebr. Handschriften, p. 12, Berlin 1878.

[8]His work Dibre Pene Aryeh, Vienna, 1859, Duckesz, Chachme A. H. W. p. 142, Hamburg, 1908.

[9]Jewish Encycl. vii, 583, and the Title page of Ben Yohai, Vienna, 1815.

the old type, who indorsed the reform temple in Hamburg.

As the name Wannefried points to a city in the province of Hesse-Cassel, so the name Deutsch may be a convenient substitute for a town in western Germany, from which the Bahur derived his name, who married the daughter of the rabbi. The name of the town may have been too difficult for the people of Kanitz to remember, and they called him for short, Deutsch. At any rate, this family name appears as the signature of the man in the congregational records in 1719,[10] and also on the tombstone, though legal family names were not introduced in Austria, until 1787.

Of the sons of Joseph Deutsch one, probably the youngest, Menahem Mandl, survived his father fully eighty years. He died in advanced age, as his tombstone testifies, Kislev 10, 564 (Nov. 25, 1803). He occupied in the little community the office of Dayan, or member of the rabbinical court, who probably acted merely in cases, when such a court was required, especially in probating estates. I possess several books with the German inscription, Mandl Joseph Deutsch, Judenjurist in Kanitz. They present probably practice in penmanship indulged in by some Bahur, who had learned to read and to write German. Mandl married his cousin, Liebele, the daughter of Hananel, who also was a son-in-law of Rabbi Jacob Eliezer. This Hananel is the son of a Rabbi Judah Loeb, in whom I believe I recognize the rabbi of Hotzenplotz, who was the son of the

[10]Wolf: Die alten Statuten der judischen Gemeinden in Maehren, p. 146, Vienna, 1880.

famous Cabbalist, Elhanan of Vienna, and the brother of Issachar Baer, rabbi of Frankfurt an der Oder, and of Kremsier, who died in 1701 in Venice on his way to Palestine, where he expected to end his days[11].

Mandl had only one son, Zalman Wolf, or with his official name, Jekuthiel Zeeb, who was born about 1755, and died January 13, 1829. Of him I have a number of documents in my possession, which have escaped the destructive influences of time. As I shall say more about him in a German essay, sent to Germany at the beginning of the war, I briefly note that he studied at the Yeshibah of Rabbi Schmelka Horwitz, the brother of the famous Rabbi Phineas Horwitz of Frankfort a. M., who held the rabbinical position of Nikolsburg, with the chief rabbinate of Moravia, from 1773-1778. The letters, written to his first wife, when he was engaged to her, to his prospective father-in-law, and his marriage contract, and finally his record as Mohel are now historic documents. He began to practice in 1777 continuing for forty-two years. The last entry is the birth of my father, and his induction into the covenant of Abraham, In my childhood, I remember having seen some documents relating to Zalman Wolf's second marriage to one Hannah, the daughter of Moses of Nachod, Bohemia. Of the five sons, who were born of this marriage, the third, named for the famous ancestor Eliezer (Lazar) was born December 22, 1787. He married in 1818 a second cousin, Juetel, the daughter of Issachar Baer, officially

[11]Frankl-Grün: Geschichte der Juden in Kremsier, I, 81, Breslau, 1896.

Bernhard Deutsch. This Bernhard Deutsch was a tenant of the large estate owner, Count Salm-Reifferscheid, of Raitz, Moravia, and therefore called Baer Raitz. Such a tenant "Bestandmann," as he was officially called, or Randar, as he was called more colloquially, was usually a well-to-do man. I remember various rare books from his library, and glassware with his initials, which was quite a luxury in those days. Baer Raitz died in 1818, shortly after the marriage of his daughter and my father, the first child of his parents, born January 2, 1819, was according to the entry in the Mohel's record of his grandfather, Zalman Wolf, circumcised on the holy Sabbath, the 12th of Tebeth, 579. The old man, as he afterwards told my father, asked for this as a special favor so that he should close his career with the induction of a grandchild into the covenant of Abraham. This entry is the last one in the Mohel's record, which began forty-two years before in 1777. The grandfather remained in the house of his son, and as my father was ten years old, when his grandfather died, he owes to him many recollections of older family history, which he transmitted to me. After the death of the grandfather, adversity began in the household. The right to conduct the tobacco shop, which was, and still is, in Austria a government monopoly, ceased after the death of the man who had received this privilege. My grandfather had begun a wine business, and obtained from the congregation a monopoly for the sale of kosher wine. The rabbi of the congregation, Joseph Spiro (Jew. Enc. xi, 523), a highly interesting character, was opposed to this

arrangement. His objections were strictly religious. He declared that such a monopoly might induce occasionally a man, who for some reason or other did not wish to patronize the monopolist, to drink wine that was not kosher. In those days dietary laws were far more seriously observed than even in the time of my childhood, when the drinking of wine that was not kosher had already become a pardonable offense. There was, however, another reason which contributed to my grandfather's ruin in business. The abrogation of the special Jewish tax, decreed by the humane Emperor Joseph II, had in a certain respect imposed a heavier yoke on the much oppressed Austrian Jews. Instead of the special tax (Schutzgeld) a new tax on all victuals was introduced. The kosher meat, fish and kosher wine, were all subject to excise tax. For all such articles bought, the merchant or, if they were bought in the market, the householder, had to buy a ticket which the contractor of the Jew-tax sold. My grandfather had imported quite a large consignment of wine from Nikolsburg and failed to pay the excise tax. A coreligionist, as usually was the case in those days, when Jews lived under restrictive laws, reported the matter, and when the consignment of wine arrived at the storehouse, revenue officers were in waiting, and asked for the receipt of the Jew tax. As these receipts could not be produced, the whole consignment was seized and an excessive fine imposed upon my grandfather. He did not pay it at once, but went into litigation, showing that there was an oversight in importing this wine, but in the end the litigation and the reduced fine imposed upon him, broke him up in business,

and from that time on until the end of his days, he supported himself like all the poor people of our section of the country, peddling in villages, and utilizing his knowledge of rabbinic law, by acting as Shochet in the surrounding villages for the Jews living there. He died March 25, 1856, at the age of sixty-eight. Had he lived to a greater age I might perhaps be in better position to relate some of the incidents of Jewish life in the first part of the nineteenth century. According to my father's report, my grandfather attended the Yeshibah of Jenikau, Bohemia, and was probably a disciple of Marcus Baer Kornfeld, who again was a disciple of Ezekiel Laudau, and is mentioned in the latter's Responsa.[12] Aaron, the son of Marcus Baer Kornfeld (1795-1881) was the last principal of a Yeshibah in Bohemia,[13] and this fact is so much the more important because the family had maintained a Yeshibah for a number of generations, the principal of the Yeshibah not being a rabbi, but supported himself with a distillery, and a man in fairly good circumstances. With Aaron Kornfeld a generation died out, which marked the last of a long series, probably going back to the twelfth century. Aaron Kornfeld's nephew, Baron Sigmund Kornfeld (1852-1909) was a bank president in Budapest and member of the house of magnates. Though to some extent a conforming Jew, he surely was not in a position any more to preside over a Yeshibah, nor will his children ever be capable of such professional work.

[12]Noda bi-Yehudah, Yoreh Deah, II, 13.

[13]Jewish Encycl. VII, 562, May: Isaac Mayer Wise, p. 28-29, New York, 1916.

My father was educated already in a somewhat modern fashion. In his very early childhood days, when his parents were, according to the reckoning of their environment, prosperous, he had a private teacher, one of those men, who being educated in Prague, at the Yeshibah, were imbued with the spirit which in this pioneer city of Austrian "Aufklaerung" worked with almost fanatic zeal for the spreading of secular knowledge, under the guidance of such men as Herz Homberg and Peter Beer. So my father was taught in earliest childhood to read and write German and received instruction in other elementary branches. Naturally at the same time he received thorough Hebrew instruction. When he was eleven years old, the congregation elected a new rabbi, and my grandfather being at that time president of the congregation, took a special interest in this affair, because his boy at the age of eleven was just ripe for higher instruction in Talmudic literature. The man elected was Marcus Trieschet, a disciple of Mordecai Benet, and a son of a rabbi of Maehrisch Weisskirchen, Abraham Reinitz, quoted as such in the few extant responsa of Benet (Har-Hamor, p. 29, Vienna 1862). I have on various occasions in the "Deborah" (1901-1902) and in the "B'nai B'rith News" (1914 et seq.) given some stories about the man's career, whom I knew personally as a child. He died Aug. 6, 1866, at the age of seventy-two. Partly because my father did not make sufficient progress under the new teacher, and partly because it was a general habit, mentioned already in the Talmud at the time Judah Hanasi,[14] he was sent to

[14]Yer. Pesahim, III, 7.

another place to continue his studies at a Yeshibah. His first college—if we may use this term—was the Yeshibah of Baer Oppenheim in Eibenschuetz, a town about six miles distant from Kanitz. Baer Oppenheim (1790-1859)[15] was a member of the famous rabbinical family of that name, and a lineal descendant of David Oppenheim, chief rabbi of Prague and founder of that marvellous collection of Hebrew books which is still the pride of the Bodleyan library at Oxford. He is also known as the father-in-law of Isaac Hirsch Weiss, and two of his sons, David (1816-1876) and Joachim (1832-1890) have made a reputation in rabbinic literature. Rabbi Baer Oppenheim does not seem to have been in any way a remarkable personality. The life in such a Yeshibah was one of privation. I remember that my father told me that he, like almost every one of those students, subsisted on the free meals given by charitable members of the congregation. As there were, however, more applicants than givers, his meals were restricted to four a week. During the other three days he had to help himself the best he could, mostly subsisting on a weekly loaf of bread, which he received from his home. How grudgingly these meals were given he illustrated by various stories. Of the four meals that he received, two were given by charitable women, always more in sympathy with a child away from home than men, without the knowledge of their husbands, who spent the week peddling in the country. My father told me what terror once reigned, when a child of the family, while

[15] Jewish Encycl, IX, 410.

he and another boy were eating, came running in and said, "Mother, send the 'Bocherlech' away; father is coming home."

The same conditions prevailed in other places, where my father attended the Yeshibah, like Pohrlitz and in Nikolsburg. In the latter city he arrived in 1834, five years after the death of the most illustrious among the rabbis of the old type, Mordecai Benet, or Marcus Benedikt. The Yeshibah was then already declining, although Benedikt's successor, Nehemias Trebitsch,[16] was a man of exactly the same type as his predecessor. Secularism had already seized the population of Moravia, perhaps due to the influences which the French July Revolution of 1830 had on all of western Europe, and when I, in 1868, arrived in the same city, where my father attended a Yeshibah that then counted several hundred young men I did not find any trace of it, nor was there any trace of old fashioned rabbinic studies among the Jews in Pohrlitz and other small towns of Moravia. My father did not attend the Yeshibah of the Landrabbiner Trebitsch, but that of a member of the rabbinate, Dayan Samuel Kohn, whose son, Moses Loeb, occupied the same position, when I first went to Nikolsburg, in 1868. Moses Loeb Kohn, who died May 9, 1890, at the age of sixty-four, was the last representative of the old Nikolsburg rabbinate. He edited and published a few rabbinic works, and was also a contributor to the Hebrew weekly "Hamagid." An idea of old-fashioned rabbinism, as it affected social life, is pictured in the following recollections: My father preserved a grateful memory for his

[16] Jewish Encycl. XII, 238.

teacher, and when he brought me to Nikolsburg, he called on Rabbi Moses Loeb to introduce himself as one who had been his father's pupil, thirty-four years ago. Moses Loeb received this information with a sneering look and a shrug of the shoulders, peculiar to Beth Hamidrash habits, saying, "Why, thirty-four years ago, you attended my father's Yeshibah. Where was I then? Perhaps not even born." I do not believe that this was done with a desire of insulting my father. It was simply the ill manners, habitual in the Yeshibah, and cultivated on principle by those people of the transition period, who considered good manners a sort of religious reform. After having served, as the Bahur of the Yeshibah usually did, in maturer years, as tutor my father settled in his native town, and married. In 1846 marriage was quite a coveted privilege in Moravia.[17] My father had the advantage of being a first-born son, and in addition marrried the daughter of a man who stood very high in the government circles, which, of course, does not mean very much, because it was usually due to the fact that he was the transmitter of bribes to the all-powerful "Oberamtmann." My maternal grandfather, Issachar Baer Halevi, with his official name Benedikt Wiener, who died November 27, 1853, at the age of about ninety, was as the name indicates, in all probability a descendant of one of the families that were exiled from Vienna in the expulsion of 1670. His wife, Chajah Leah, who died August 30, 1849, was the daughter of one Mendel Ulma, and one Nathan Ulma Kunitz, who died at Berlin in 1733, is mentioned as the son-in-law of one of those

[17]See: Jewish Encyclopedia article "Familianten."

Vienna exiles who established the Berlin congregation in 1671.[18] The name would indicate that the family originated from those exiles of Ulm, who were expelled in 1499, and are found all over Europe. They may in those days have drifted to Vienna, have gone from there at some later period to the little town of Kanitz, called in Yiddish Kunitz, and have gone back to Vienna, when with the general expulsion they sought, like most of the exiles, the ancient home of their families in the neighboring province of Moravia. This is stated to show how great a loss is suffered by the lack of attention to old family records, and by the neglect to write personal memoirs. My maternal grandparents had sixteen children, fourteen of whom, four sons and ten daughters, grew up to manhood and womanhood, and it is quite interesting to note that there is only one young man living who is the bearer of the family name of Wiener, and he is at present fighting at the front.

My father lost his first wife a few months after their marriage, and married in 1848, her sister. The three children who were born of this marriage, died in infancy, and their mother followed them to the grave in 1854. In 1856 my father married a third sister, my mother, who survived him for over twenty-one years. My mother's real name, by which she was known as a child, was Liebele, but as long as I can remember, she was called Lisi, and she signed her name "Elise." In the official birth records of the community her name is entered as "Elenora." This, I suppose, was due to the registrar of the congrega-

[18]Landshuth: Vollst. Gebets-und Andachtsbuch, Appendix, p. 21, Berlin ,1867.

tion, Reb Yaykev Shammes, who obeyed the law, dating from Joseph II, which demanded that the Jews should adopt names which would not create such a difficulty in transliteration as did the usual Yiddish names.[19] My mother was born April 5, 1819, and died in her ninety-third year. September 25, 1911. The first child of this marriage was my only surviving sister, born November 24, 1857, who was named for the grandmother, Chajah Leah, but was always called merely Leah. I, born January 31, 1859, was named for my paternal grandfather, Eliezer, and my father, somewhat of a purist in Hebrew, and a romanticist in religion, wished to have my name registered according to the Biblical spelling, but the principal of the Jewish school, Solomon Schuetz, a modernist afterwards principal of the Jewish school of Czernowitz,[20] suggested that such a name would stigmatize the child in his future career, and instead of calling me, as my grandfather was officially called, Lazar, the approximate translation into Gotthard, was proposed, and adopted.

At what age I was sent to school, I do not exactly know, but I was certainly not older than five. I remember having had a primer, specially bound for me, with a dedication dated 1864, and I also remember that an uncle of my mother "der Vetter Loeb" with his official name, Loebel Samek, who died early in 1865, used to supervise my reading of the prayers in the synagog. Vetter Loeb, who was already in the

[19]Law of Oct. 11, 1787. Cramer: Gesetzessammlung, etc. p. 256, Prague, 1793.

[20]Israelitsch—Deutsche Schule in Czernowitz. Czernowitz, 1905.

eighties then, was a pious old soul, who always remained in the synagogue on Sabbath morning, when services were over, to do a little extra praying from the optional liturgy, saw to it that I read correctly, and did not "ueberhuppern" (skip). Afterwards, when I had done well, he took me to his home, where I received my "Shabbes Obst," which consisted of grapes and plums which he knew to keep during the whole winter. Our Jewish school was founded in 1852 with David Loewy (1821-1902)[21], during his last years editor of the "Neuzeit" in Vienna, as principal. Previous to that time, although the law of Joseph II, issued in 1782, demanded that every Jewish child should receive a secular education, the school was conducted in the old Heder fashion, the teacher gathering the children that were entrusted to him, in his home and giving them secular, as well as Hebrew instruction. The year 1848 seems to have stimulated interest in systematic and secular education, and the congregation erected a school building, which at the same time served to house the rabbi and the principal, and had a room for the office of the congregation which then had, and probably still has, municipal jurisdiction over the former ghetto section of the old town. The palmy days of this congregation were over, when I entered school. The freedom of residence granted in 1848 began to drain the congregation, attracting the more enterprising and younger element to the near-by city of Bruenn, where even in former years a great many people made their living as peddlers, and sellers of country produce and the like. Others scattered among villages or went to

[21] Deborah, 1902, p. 161-164.

some smaller towns, formerly closed to the Jews. A terrible flood which visited our town, February 1, 1862, and did great damage in the Jewish quarter, also aided the exodus, for many people, whose homes had been destroyed, preferred to make their homes elsewhere, instead of rebuilding their former homes. So when I entered school, there were hardly more than sixty children enrolled, who were divided into three classes. The beginner's class was in charge of a young man, who received a small salary of 100 florins, if I remember correctly, and was given free board, taking his meals alternately every week in one of the more prosperous families. The second grade was in charge of an old-fashioned Melammed, Mandl Brunner, a native of our town, who had the usual career of a Bahur, having attended the Yeshibah of Nikolsburg, of which he retained the proud memory that he was present at the last lecture, delivered by the old Landrabbiner, Markus Benedikt, before he left for Karlsbad, where he died August 13, 1829. Brunner afterwards married, engaged in some business, failed, and therefore became a teacher. He was an autodidact, spoke German incorrectly, and had the manners of the old-fashioned Melammed, who considered the rod the most efficient instrument of pedagogy. I remember distinctly that we learned a verb was a part of speech which expresses a "Thon oder Lassen." It was always a puzzle to me what kind of a tone a verb represented. We also studied with him the Minor Prophets. No small task for a class of children about eight years old! One of the typical recollections that I have preserved is the translation

of Hosea 4, 14, "Nur ein unvernuenftiges Volk kann solchen Oberwitz hegen," which was due to a misreading of the translation in Hebrew characters instead of "Aberwitz." The word "Oberwitz," corresponding to the Yiddish "Ober Chochme," was evidently more intelligible to Reb Mandl, than the high German "Aberwitz." It would be an injustice to convey the idea that the teacher was not devoted to his calling. The main trouble was that he was overworked, teaching nine or ten hours a day, and inadequately prepared. The highest grade was in charge of the principal, of whom I remember first a man named Moses Kobler, a kindly intelligent man of the "Maskil" class, who published occasionally some exegetical notes in the then popular periodical "Kokebe Yizhak." After him we had a young, modern man, named Kohut. The instruction in Hebrew formed part of the curriculum, and occupied three or four hours daily. In addition I, whom my father had destined to become a Hebrew scholar, received private instruction, partly by the teacher, and partly by himself. At the age of six, my father began to instruct me in Mishnah. It is a puzzle to me today how a child could grasp the intricate problems of the Mishnah, including the commentary of Bertinoro. But I have since found on my visits to eastern Europe, and also to some of the Talmud-torahs in the United States that boys of eight studied more difficult parts of the Talmud. As a specimen of the instruction I give the following translation of a passage in Bertinoro's commentary to the first chapter of Berakot. מילתא אגב אורחא קא משמע לן "Der Tanne

laesst mich bei dieser Gelegenheit einen neuen Din hoeren." On my seventh birthday, I was presented as a paragon before an invited audience of friends to recite the first two chapters of the Mishnah.

At the age of eight, I received instruction, together with a small class of boys, in Talmud from our new rabbi, Dr. M. H. Friedlaender. Our old rabbi, Markus Trieschet who had held his office for thirty-six years, died August 6, 1866, of the cholera, which then ravaged our town, due to the invading Prussian army, which made of the school building a military hospital. I remember the old rabbi quite distinctly, for my father took me usually with him on Sabbath afternoon when the rabbi held his "Shiur" (lecture) to a circle of six men, all of whom have since died without finding any successors. The rabbi also used to examine me in my Bible lessons, which was done for the sake of encouragement, and I used to bring him every day, the "Neue Freie Presse," usually with the message of the most important news. A daily paper was then a luxury, and as a rule, two or three people formed a club to subscribe for it. My last recollection is that I brought him the message that armistice was declared.

His successor was elected in the following year. Dr. M. H. Friedlaneder, born in 1839, in Bur St. Georgen, Hungary, is the brother of the well known writer on Hellenistic literature, Moritz Friedlaender. He was naturally the first modern rabbi that we had, and the sign on his door "Dr. M. H. Friedlaender, Rabbiner and Prediger" impressed me very strongly. With him came some reforms. The "Schulrufen,"

which means that the sexton went Friday evening before dark through the ghetto, calling "Kabbolas Shabbos," and on Saturday morning and afternoon calling "In Schul"—had become obnoxious, and was a mere habit, because quite a number of people lived then outside of the ghetto. The daily "Schulkloppen," the knocking at every door to announce the beginning of services on week days, had already been abolished before my time, though I do remember the old Shammes Mordche, who died in 1883, at the age of ninety-eight, and ordered that the wooden hammer, which he had used in announcing the beginning of services, be placed in his coffin. It was to be his credential in heaven. No matter, how much of a sinner he may have been, he had done something good in his life. Another reform was the abrogation of the "Piyutim," against which some of the older elements grumbled, but they finally submitted. A choir of boys had existed already before my time. It seems strange that one who stood for reform, should organize a class in Talmud studies. I do not think, it lasted very long, and at any rate, I was the only one who continued the studies after leaving school.

The Austrian primary school, up to the reorganization of the educational system by a new school law, issued in 1868, consisted of four grades. As our school had only three grades, I had to pass an examination at a "Hauptschule," for which Nikolsburg was chosen. The school of Nikolsburg, established in 1839, during the lifetime of the Landrabbiner, Nehemias Trebitsch, of whom Leopold Loew reports that he entered upon his office with a determination, "to weed out the Ger-

man with the roots,"[22] was under the supervision of Dr. Moritz Eisler (1823-1904) well known as a writer on Jewish philosophy. The examination in which a few other boys and girls took part, does not seem to have been a very severe one. I suppose it would have been very unprofessional for Dr. Eisler to "flunk" a class of boys prepared by a Jewish colleague. On the ground of this certificate of examination, I was admitted as a "Privatist" to the Gymnasium of Nikolsburg. Being only nine years old, my father felt that I was too young to be sent away from home, and therefore he made an arrangement with another family in our town, having a boy of about my age, to engage a private teacher, who should prepare us for the semi-annual examinations, which non-resident students had to undergo. The Austrian "Gymnasium" had and probably still has eight grades and requires semi-annual examinations, of which only the second one is decisive for promotion. Our teacher was Emil Auspitzer, then a student of the seventh grade of the "Gymnasium" at Bruenn, who in addition to teaching us, had to prepare himself for his semi-annual examination. He was the son of an ex-Hazan, Kalman Judah Loew Auspitzer, who was a native of Nikolsburg, and probably a lineal descendant of the heretic by the same name, whom Jacob Emden enumerates amongst the followers of the Sabbathai Zebi sect in his days. Emil Auspitzer subsequently converted to Roman Catholicism, marrying the daughter of a high government official, and after a brief career in the state service worked for some business organization as political economist, and to judge by Siegmund

[22]Gesammelte Schriften, II, 204, Szegedins, 1890.

Mayer's memoirs,[23] did not come up to the expectations which his brilliant mind seemed to justify. He died at Teplitz, January 26, 1908, at the age of fifty-seven. While I received this instruction, I naturally continued my Hebrew studies, partly under the guidance of my father and partly under the instruction of our local rabbi. In this way I finished the work of the first two grades of the "Gymnasium," and in the fall of 1870 entered the third grade as regular student.

Nikolsburg, at one time not only the largest congregation of Moravia, numbering 3,400 souls in a population of 8,000, but also one of the most prominent congregations of the German empire, was, when I first saw it, already declining. Yet it impressed me as a metropolis, with its ten synagogues, of which in 1868 four were closed. Its Jewish life was intense. It was during the "ten days of pentience" when I first arrived, and the main street of the ghetto was crowded with people going to the evening services. I was also deeply impressed by the really beautiful Altschul with its four-domed ceiling, and its "Almemor" surrounded by four marble pillars, as also by the Hazan, Kalman Loeb Maas, who had a fine baritone voice, and in addition to his office, conducted a jewelry shop. Entirely new to me was also the Beth Hemidrash, with its three rooms, of which one was reserved to a library of Cabbalistic books, inspiring the boy with awe for the deep mystery which this name conveyed. It was for the sake of this Jewish atmosphere that my father seleced Nikolsburg, instead of the

[23] Ein Juedischer Kaufmann, 1831-1911. Lebenserrinnerungen Leipsic, 1911.

much nearer and more accessible city of Bruenn for my education.

The "Gymnasium" was then still conducted by a monastic order, the "Piaristen" officially called the "priests of the pious schools of the Mother of God." This order which was established in the seventeenth century, was intended to bring a more liberal spirit into Catholic education and to counteract the narrower principles of the Jesuits, previously possessing almost a monopoly of education. Moravia, as is known through the Moravian Brethern of the United States, was in the seventeenth century, the seat of an active Protestant propaganda. Cardinal Prince Francis von Dietrichstein (1570-1636) was a member of the house which owned the estate of Nikolsburg, and in his influential position as governor of Moravia, after the defeat of the Protestant party, in the battle of the White Mountain, 1620, went to work with the object of suppressing Protestantism. For this purpose, he established the first colony of the new order, outside of Italy in Nikolsburg, feeling that the milder method of the "Piaristen" was more adapted to a re-establishment of Catholicism than the rigorous Jesuit discipline. While the "Gymnasium" was a Catholic institution, the Jewish scholars, who formed probably twenty-five per cent of the enrollment, were not treated badly. We then had the usage that at every semi-annual examination, the students of every class were graded, and it often happened that a Jew was "primus." I also remember that a Jewish boy, the son of a poor tailor, being unable to pay his tuition, was called out of the classroom by the teacher, an old priest, who

handed him the required sum, and said, "Tell your father to pay me back the money, whenever he shall be able." Secularism, which at that time was very strong in Austria, when the people rebelled against the "Concordat" of 1855, made itself felt in the school management. The practice of the order was to take boys from the school after they had finished the sixth grade, employ them as teachers in the primary schools, afterwards giving them a chance to finish their studies, when they were employed in the secondary schools. They therefore, with but very few exceptions, had not received an academic training. The clerical minister of education, Count Thun, while very active in improving secondary schools, requiring an academic course in the special branch in which the teacher was to give instruction, winked at this situation. The liberal government, which was organized in 1867, insisted on carrying out the law, and in consequence the order was unable to obtain qualified teachers. Therefore, when I entered the "Gymnasium" we had already some lay teachers and—another proof of the liberal spirit then prevailing—in 1873 a Jew, Joseph Frank, born in Leipnik, Moravia, 1849, was appointed temporary teacher of history, in a Catholic institution, maintained by a convent. It was in the same year that the order felt, it was impossible to maintain the institution on the basis of the state's requirements, and it was turned over to the state. The older teachers were retained, and the younger ones dismissed in whose place young men possessing a regular certificate, obtained at a university, were appointed. The old principal was retained as teacher, while in his

place a layman was entrusted with the supervision of the school.

My object is not to give a biography, but a picture of conditions, and therefore I shall say nothing of my own records during the six years that I attended the "Gymnasium." The school laws of Austria required instruction in religion as part of the prescribed curriculum, both of primary and of secondary schools. This law was introduced in 1852, by the above mentioned minister Count Thun. There was discrimination in favor of the Catholic majority. The teacher of Catholic religion was a member of the regular teaching staff, and his hours of instruction were included in the regular curriculum, and graded like the other work, while the Jewish teacher had to be contented with the hours after regular instruction, and had to combine several classes. We also had to pay a special fee for our religious instruction, while the Catholic instruction was paid for out of the regular fund. This system, however, was changed, while I was still in school, the Jewish teacher being paid a certain sum for each hour per annum. A further change in favor of the recognition of the Jewish religion will be related afterwards. Our teacher was Dr. Moritz Eisler, [24] (1823-1904) the principal of the Jewish school. While Dr. Eisler was a real scholar, I cannot say that his official instruction had very much value. My own objection to the present scheme of the Gary system dates back to this early period. In addition to this official instruction I, together with a few other students, received instruction in Talmud. When the Jewish school was established in 1839, a special teacher of Talmud was a

[24] Jewish Encyclopedia, V. 84.

member of the teaching staff. His name was Joseph Hirsch Knoepfmacher, a disciple of Marcus Benedikt, who had given him the Morenu title, a distinction, a historic fact quite worthy of note, when I arrived in Nikolsburg forty years after the death of the great rabbi. In addition to his position as teacher Knoepfmacher was "Schulrebbe," which means that he preached occasionally at one of the smaller synagogues, which he attended. This position he still held, when I arrived, but from his teaching position he had retired. I occasionally enjoyed the distinction that my teacher Simon Koenig, of whom I shall speak later, who was a nephew of the rabbi, would take me to his house on Saturday afternoon, to give me a "Leinen," which means the reading of a Talmudic passage, which I had not studied before. Knoepfmacher died in 1876, at the age of eighty-two, a relic of a long forgotton era. Talmud intruction, however, was still given in three grades, the beginner's class was in charge of one Isaiah Krakauer, called popularly Reb Schaje Rebeller, for reasons unknown to me, the second grade was taught by one Reb Zelig Loeb Hahn, and the third grade by the rabbi, Dr. Maier Feuchtwang. When I came to Nikolsburg, I had sufficient preparation to be assigned to the second grade.

Our teacher, Reb Zelig Loeb, was like so many others a shipwrecked business man, who was compelled to fall back on his Talmudic studies. The class which I entered consisted of but four students, who came five times a week after school hours to the house of the teacher for two hours of instruction. This fact

in itself shows, how the interest in rabbinic studies had declined during the forty years after the death of Marcus Benedikt, whose Yeshibah is said to have numbered from three to four hundred students. The real Yeshibah seems to have gone out of existence with the death of Rabbi Solomon Quetsch in 1856. Of the four students who formed our class, two were attracted by the chance of winning a stipend of fifty florins coming from the legacy of some pious member of the Nikolsburg congregation. The instruction was given in Yiddish, with all the old-fashioned habits of gesticulation, yelling and chanting, which good old Samuel Haida in the seventeenth century declared essential to the progress of Jewish studies, much to the displeasure of his more enlightened contemporary Jair Hayim Bacharach.[25] The topic that we studied was the second chapter of Kiddushin, hardly very appropriate for boys of eleven to fourteen. I had previously studied under our rabbi at home the first chapter of Pesahim, and strangely enough, the third chapter of Hullin, dealing with the dietary laws, which perhaps the rabbi selected, because he wanted to review them for the sake of his practice. The scholastic year then began on the first of October, and ended with the last of July. I had been on a visit home during the Christmas vacation, and probably on two other similar occasions. The Christmas vacation, I remember particularly on account of the very severe winter, and the brilliant polar light, connected by superstitious people with the Franco-German war. The vacation began on Friday, and as Nikolsburg had no railroads then, we had to make the journey in a

[25] Jewish Encyclopedia, VI, 55.

sleigh, the driver, a Jew, not being in any hurry, and I remember distinctly that we passed through Pohrlitz, where one of our number had his home, when people were starting for the synagogue. It was night when we arrived at home, received by my father with a severe reprimand to the driver for having come home on Sabbath. My father was not satisfied with the progress of my Talmudic studies, and therefore at the beginning of the new term I was placed in charge of a private teacher, Reb Shimme Koenig, who had been my father's classmate in the Yeshibah of Rabbi Baer Oppenheim in Eibenschuetz about forty years previously. One little incident that the two men discussed at their first meeting after so many years, deserves preservation as typical of the spirit of the time. My father reminded his former schoolmate of an occasion, when Rabbi Baer quoted a Talmudic interpretation of Rabbi Mordecai Benet, disapprovingly, and added: "On the tombstones of such people they write, 'the famous scholar, the brilliant, and learned'." Reb Schimme, then a boy, who had always heard the name of the rabbi of his native town mentioned with a reverence due to a saint, turned pale, and when the recollection was brought back to him he evaded every comment. Reb Schimme was Schammes of the same Schul of which his uncle was rabbi, and occasionally earned a little extra money by some religious job, such as inspector of the Matzos bakery, the season lasting hardly more than four weeks. During such a season I was handed over temporarily to one of the regular attendants of the Beth Hamidrash, Reb Jossef Loebele

Abeles, or Reb Schapse Karpeles. Both seem to have been hired to spend their days in the Beth Hamidrash. The former had the reputation that he knew Cabbala, and I tried to pump him on that subject, which still possessed for me the halo of mystery, but he evaded it, merely declaring that it was a "groisse Wissenschaft." Reb Schapse was one of those noble idealists, which the much misunderstood ghetto produced. He would come to the Beth Hamidrash long before daybreak, at three or four o'clock in the morning, probably attend the daily penitential services, Shomerim La-Boker, which were introduced by Rabbi David Oppenheim, who left a fund for their maintenance, then study till morning services began, then go home for his frugal breakfast and a little rest, to continue studying until noon time, and after a little siesta, come back and stay till late in the evening. He was a quiet pious soul, unostentatious, and deeply devout. Being hard of hearing, he had to retire from business, and was given this modest job, to which was added the income that he received from people who commissioned him "to learn" in the case of a death or "Jahrzeit." Being of a quiet disposition he was considered stupid. As a type of the ghetto piety which would not speak unfavorably of a Talmudic scholar, I quote the saying verbatim: "Sein Toire ausgenuemmen is er a Beheme." I do not believe that the statement was just. Two instances I shall quote, naturally not with a desire to correct a historic error, but to give some information about the inner life and the intimate talk of the ghetto, in its last stages. One of the regular pieces of

a ghetto inventory is the idiot. I. L. Perez has preserved us such a picture in his wonderful sketch "Der Meshuggener Batlan." Nikolsburg had such a specimen in a man, then perhaps thirty-five years old, named "Meshugge Itzig." Itzigl, the posthumous son of a rabbinical scholar, cousin of the Dajan, Rabbi Moshe Loeb Kohn, and grandson of the historic author Abraham Trebitsch,[26] was certainly a mental defective. He had no occupation, and probably lived on such charity jobs, as attending a Minyan and saying Kaddish. Most of his time he spent in the Beth Hamidrash, where he studied the Yiddish books on religious ethics. One of his passions was playing the lottery, which in Austria is a state institution, and allows people to gamble on a very small scale. The combination of numbers which should win in the next drawing was naturally his main concern. While he was sitting in the Beth Hamidrash one evening, studying his Yiddish book at the same table, where I received instruction from Reb Schapse, Reb Gawriele Boehm entered. Reb Gawriele was the exact opposite of Reb Schapse, very ostentatious in his devotion, and always looking out for material advantages, which in his occupation as a religious jobber, certainly did not amount to much. One of his ostentations was that he would not pass by the Beth Hamidrash without entering and devoting a little time to study. He came in, and the first thing that he did was to light another candle, scoffing at Reb Schapse, who was so stingy with the provision made for the Beth Hamidrash. Then he opened a book, and instead of reading, began to propose to

[26] Jewish Encyclopedia, XII, 238.

Itzigl a scheme how to make sure that he would win in the lottery. Itzigl should wait until eleven at night, when the new moon would appear, then should go out half a mile beyond the limits of the town to recite the prayer for the new moon, and then retire without saying one word, after which he would be sure to have a dream, in which the winning numbers would be revealed to him. Having answered various questions, and feeling that he had sufficiently impressed Itzigl with his advice, Reb Gawriele closed his book and left. Reb Schapse calmly extinguished the unnecessary candle and said with a smile, "For this study he hardly needed more light."

Another occasion to illustrate the character of this good old soul is the following. I had an uncle in Nikolsburg, Aaron Eisler, called Reb Ora, whose wife Eva, "The Muhme Chawe," was a sister of my mother, more than twenty years her senior. Aaron Eisler was, measured by the local standard, a very rich man and somewhat miserly, although a strictly observant Jew, who frequented twice a day the "Hasidim Schul," a synagog founded by Rabbi Schmelka Horwitz, about 1775 for the purpose of maintaining the Hasidic ritual. Having no sons, my uncle was very careful to "provide for the salvation of his soul" (Neshome versorgen). He had a beautiful Sefer Torah written, which, while he was living, was kept in his house, and which in his will, he bequeathed to the synagog. In his will was provided that ten men should come every day to his house, during the thirty days following his death to hold services. During these services one Saturday evening, the people assembled, most of them

very poor, some plain carriers of burden, anxious that prayers should begin, so that they might go to their work. Reb Schapse, who read the services, was not sure that the Sabbath had ended, and said to the impatient worshippers, "Don't be in a hurry, the time will come, when you will be glad that the services do not begin so early." This was an allusion to the rabbinic belief that the sinners in Gehinnom are at rest on Saturday, and do not return to their torments until the services are over.

Both Reb Shapse and Reb Gawriele are types that by this time surely have gone out of existence in their part of the country. Reb Gawriele especially was a type of the degeneracy of the ghetto. A lineal descendant of the famous Rabbi Loewe Ben Bezalel of Prague, of whose Kiddush cup he was the proud possessor, he died in poverty and obscurity. His picture has by accident been perpetuated in the illustration accompanying the article "Nikolsburg" in the Jewish Encyclopedia.

Reb Schimme had prepared me for the Bar Mitzvah, teaching me a dialectical discourse on the Talmudic law of the obligation of swearing when the defendant admits the claim of the plaintiff in part (Baba Mezia, 3 a). I have forgotten all of it except the subject. The audience which understood my discourse when I delivered it at home hardly counted more than four people. I was the last one in my town to celebrate a Bar Mitzvah in this style, but I also delivered the customary German address that I had written myself for this occasion.

After having been under Reb Schimme's tutelage for about three years, I was enrolled, in the highest

class of the Talmud school in charge of the Rabbi, Dr. Maier Feuchtwang. About three boys came to the rabbi's house three times a week from eleven to twelve. Dr. Feuchtwang, born in Pappenheim, Bavaria, 1814, was elected rabbi of Nikolsburg in 1861, coming from Neutra, Hungary. A pupil of Rabbi Jacob Ettlinger, and Rabbi Seligman Baer Bamberger, he represented the strict German orthodoxy, which combined with good secular education, was somewhat strange in our old fashioned crude environment. Yet he was highly respected, both on account of his character and his piety, although a few representatives of the old school, under the leadership of the Dajan, Moses Loeb Kohn, antagonized him occasionally with great bitterness, especially when he gave his consent to the introduction of such reforms as a choir of boys, and the abrogation of "Schulkloppen" and "Schulrufen." These iconoclastic changes had occurred a few years before I arrived in Nikolsburg, and the bitterness of the strife had ceased, when I came. Only once I remember a representative of the old school, who declared in the office of the congregation, that the rabbi is "the ruin" (a Shtorz) of the Torah and of the fear of God. The rabbi preached a sermon on holydays, and on one Sabbath a month before the Mussaf services began, which in Nikolsburg, as in all Moravian congregations, started at ten o'clock. This practice had been followed from time immemorial in order to give to those who attended services in another synagog, the opportunity of hearing him. My impressions of Dr. Feuchtwang as a preacher may be colored by youthful enthusiasm, but I do believe him to have been endowed with good

oratorical gifts. As a pedagogue he was not a great success. The time for instruction was short, because we left school at eleven o'clock, which brought us naturally later to his house, and at twelve o'clock the lesson closed. Occasionally it was interrupted by visitors, or a pressing congregational duty. My father, therefore, finding that I did not make sufficient progress, placed me under the care of the other Dajan Rabbi Joseph Knoepfmacher, who was also "Schulrebbe" of the Neuschul, the second largest synagogue. Knoepfmacher was a somewhat modern man, who born in 1815, had still attended the course under Rabbi Mordecai Benet, but was a disciple of Solomon Quetsch, when the latter was rabbi of Leipnik. He had in an autodidactic way acquired a solid knowledge of the most important high school studies, and spoke a correct German, different in this respect from his colleague Reb Moshe Loeb, who maintained the Yiddish in his discourses. Knoepfmacher was a good teacher, and congratulating him on his ninetieth birthday, I could remind him still of the discussion on the principle of conflicting laws which he had taught me (Makkot 17, a). He died in 1909, at the age of ninety-four, the last relic of old rabbinism in the place made famous by so many prominent rabbinic authors like Loewe Ben Bezalel and Lipman Heller. His position was very modest. As Dajan he received a salary of 250 florins (about $100) and as preacher at his synagogue very likely not more. Yet he raised a family of ten children, though his wife, who kept a store, contributed to the maintenance of the household. As another interesting feature of economic

life, I may add that the tuition that I paid for three hours weekly was four florins a month, while Reb Schimme received only two florins a month for five lessons a week.

During my last year in Nikolsburg my Talmud studies were neglected, because I needed all my time to prepare for the final examination (Maturitaetspruefung), which then was quite severe, partly because of the government's policy of improving the standard of education, and partly because most of our teachers were young men, fresh from the university, inspired by their feeling of power. The examination had two parts, one written examination, which extended over a week, and was followed, four weeks later by an oral examination, lasting one day. It was quite an anxiety when at the close of the day the Landesschulinspektor (superintendent of the provincial school system) who presided at these examinations, announced, "I regret to say that the result of the examination is not as favorable as I would have liked to see it." And then came the list of those who were rejected for one year, and others who had to repeat examination in one subject at the beginning of the fall term. I was among the fortunates, who had passed without a scratch, and so had completed at the age of seventeen my "Gymnasium" education. From July 17, when the examination was held, until the fall term, which began in October, I was free, and spending the vacation at home, my father utilized the time that he could spare from his business, to give me instruction in Talmud, so that I could enter the Breslau Seminary well prepared. The distance from my native town

to Breslau is probably less than two hundred miles, but the connections were poor, and it took nearly fourteen hours to reach my destination. Our people living in narrow conditions did not travel very often, and Breslau, being beyond the border of Austria, was considered a different world. In order to reach my destination in the day time, I had to leave my home at nine in the evening, and to travel all night until noon next day. Sleepers did not exist and probably if they would have existed, it would have been considered an extravagance to use them. I stopped at a modest Jewish hotel in the old quarter of the town, known to readers of German literature from Gustav Freytag's "Soll und Haben." I arrived October 6, 1876, and on the same afternoon called on my future professors. The "Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar" is a modest apartment building, on the edge of the old inner town as is seen from the name of the street "Wall Strasse." Not far from it was the old powder magazine, whose explosion in 1749 destroyed so many Jewish lives, and is alluded to by Lessing in his play, "Die Juden." One of his characters quotes this fact and the great loss of Jewish lives as proof that Providence does not want so many Jews. The old fortifications were razed after the Napoleonic time, the ditch being retained and adding greatly to the beauty of the place. The little garden in the rear of the building adjoins the "Promenade." On the first floor were three classrooms, the janitor quarters, and the flat of Dr. David Rosin. On the second floor the "Direktor" Dr. Leyser Lazarus lived, while one part was used for the library. On the third floor Graetz

lived, while part of the flat was used as a synagog. On the fourth floor were two flats inhabited by Freudenthal and Zuckermann. On the fifth floor, in the attic, there were two rooms set apart for students, who were given the privilege of free quarters. There were, when I entered the seminary, thirty-four students enrolled, eight of whom were newcomers. Only three of us had graduated from a "Gymnasium," while the others had still to attend the preparatory class, in which also secular subjects were taught in order to prepare them for the university. Among the latter, I may here mention, was Leon Kellner, lately professor of English at the University of Czernowitz, and a celebrated author not merely in his special branch, but also as essayist and known as a worker in Zionist circles.

The seminary had two branches, one in which, as already stated, secular subjects were taught, while the other was devoted to Jewish studies. This again had two grades, distinguished by the preparation in rabbinical studies. It naturally happened very often that the students of the preparatory class were good Talmudic scholars, coming from Polish or Hungarian Yeshibahs, while some of those who had their regular high school education, coming from western Europe, were in the preparatory Talmud class. I was examined by Lazarus in Talmud, and still remember the passage that I had to read. It deals with the question whether it was permitted to bring to the priest on holydays the gifts to which he is entitled (Bezah, 12,b). My examination passed satisfactorily, as I also passed the examination in Bible, at which Rosin gave

me Psalm 64 to translate and to explain grammatically. I still remember that he asked me where the word ויורם was found without suffix. I must admit that I did not know that this was found in II Kings 13, 17, but I have remembered it ever since. Interesting it was to me that Rosin, before pronouncing this word, took his velvet skull cap from his pocket, to cover his head.

The courses in the Seminary began after the holydays, which in that year closed October 13, while the University course did not open until November. The arrangement was such that the courses in the Seminary were given in the morning, while we attended University in the afternoon, when most of the courses in the department of philosophy are given. Exceptionally, we would have a course at eleven o'clock, which according to the habit of the "academic quarter" was to begin at 11.15, but usually did not begin until 11.20, so that we had time to reach the university, when we left the seminary at 11. There was no street car in Breslau with its quarter of a million inhabitants then. Most of the students studied Oriental languages, especially Arabic, at the University. I was one of the exceptions, taking a history course. The men who taught at the Seminary when I entered have all gone to their eternal reward. The last one to survive was Jacob Freudenthal, who, however, having in the meantime been appointed professor ordinarius of philosophy at the University, had left the seminary long before his death. All these men are known in the history of our literature, and it is therefore unnecessary to give a general

characterization. Lazarus, who is not known as an author, for as far as I remember, his essay on the ethics of the Talmud, published in the "Jahresbericht" of 1877 is the only work of his pen extant. He was physically weak, and died while I was in Breslau, April 16, 1879, at the age of fifty-eight. His Talmud course was divided according to the plan introduced by his predecessor, Zechariah Frankel, into three parts, a thorough course (Statarisch), a cursory course, and one on codes. In addition, he gave one lecture a week on a Talmudic subject. His method was entirely new to me, for he, a disciple of Akiba Eger, was a great admirer of dialecticism as presented in the latest development of rabbinic literature, of which I never had heard anything before. Very often he gave an argument of Akiba Eger, introducing it with the words, "Reb Kiwe has on this subject a brilliant argument." Having been raised in a different environment, I did not even know who this Reb Kiwe was, and naturally thinking of the Rabbi Akiba of the Mishnah, could in spite of my modest preparation in Talmudic literature, not understand how Rabbi Akiba could ever have used such an intricate argument. There was hardly any difference between the two courses in Talmud. Lazarus was too fond of the Pilpulistic method of the Polish school, to allow an opportunity to pass, which suggested the presentation of such a specimen. The same is also true of his lectures on Talmudic topics, though they were intended to give a modern presentation of rabbinic literature. Personally he was a very amiable and kindly man, and possessed a

great deal of humor. I am indebted to him for a number of anecdotes from old fashioned Jewish life, and of which I shall quote one, because it characterizes the man. Leyser Lazarus, the older brother of the famous philosopher, Moritz Lazarus, was born in Filehne, province of Posen, and reared in the old-fashioned Polish style, as it survived in the first decades of Prussian administration. As a young man he was called to Sondershausen, where he instructed the Landrabbiner Philip Heidenheim (1814-1906), up to that time a teacher, in Talmudic literature, thus acquiring the opportunity of studying at the "Gymnasium". After having finished his university course, he became rabbi of the small provincial town of Prenzlau, in the province of Brandenburg, where he remained for twenty-five years. Having plenty of leisure, he devoted his time to Talmudic studies, and was indeed a Talmudic scholar, ranking with any one of the old school. While he was rabbi in Prenzlau, so he told us, a Polish Jew, who came there on business, spent the Sabbath in town, and having nothing else to do, spent most of the day in the company of the rabbi. He was quite astonished to find a "Datsch a Doktor," who wore no beard, except for a fringe on his cheeks and under his chin. and spoke a correct German, and yet could hold his own by the side of any Polish rabbi. In the afternoon, the visitor accompanied the rabbi to a class of girls, whom he instructed in religion, and on the next day he attended a wedding in the synagogue, where the rabbi delivered an address. Taking leave, the visitor said: "Herr Doktor, you ought to come to us in Poland. There

you could be a rabbi, but here they make of you a Melammed, and a Marshalik (buffoon.)" As I already stated, Lazarus' efficiency was considerably hampered by his delicate health, and after his death his place was taken temporarily by a layman, a retired business man, named Kuerschner, from Loslau, Silesia. This fact is of importance, because this type of men has completely died out in Germany, and the small congregations in Silesia, which forty years ago still possessed some laymen with considerable Talmudic knowledge, have in most cases also ceased to exist as congregations.

Of the men composing the faculty of the Seminary in my time, the most illustrious scholar was Graetz. It is unnecessary to characterize him as an author. As a teacher he was more successful by stimulating self-study than by instruction. As a man, he, although coming from the poor classes, was an aristocrat but he was even in his home a source of inspiration by his interesting conversation, not merely on his specialty, but also on current topics and personal matters. As a feature, which is rather unpleasant, but historically interesting, I wish to say that he never spoke of Lazarus as the "Herr Direktor" except at the graduation exercises of 1879, when, owing to the sickness of Lazarus, he presided. He was most regular in his habits, an early riser and a hard worker, though he never seemed to be pressed for time. He had twice a week his card party, to which one of the students was usually invited, the third man being Jacob Levy, the author of the Talmudic dictionary, who was living in Breslau as prebendary (Stifts-

rabbiner). Distinctly aristocratic was professor Freudenthal, then just beginning his career as Privatdozent of philosophy at the University. He was a very handsome, tall man, with a blond beard, suggesting more the typically North-German, than the Jew. He was like the others, strictly conforming, attending the synagogue services every Sabbath, and being a Cohen, chanted the priestly benediction in the old-fashioned style on holydays. The synagogue services were held every day in the morning, and it pains me to say, that it was often difficult to obtain Minyan. Even the students who lived in the attic rooms had to be aroused from their beds occasionally. The only regular attendant at the daily services was the "Direktor." Graetz came only on the days, when Torah is read, and rather zealously guarded his privilege of distributing the honors. Needless to say, the radical Bible critic, denounced in the orthodox press as an infidel, laid his Tefillin scrupulously. The most observant Jew of the faculty was Benedikt Zuckermann. A native of Breslau, and educated regularly at the "Gymnasium" and at the university, where he studied mathematics, he was scrupulously observant. A bachelor, living in a household, over which his maiden sister presided, and a man of means, he would attend every day a little synagog in a room in the old ghetto, where his father had lived, but at the same time was fond of social life, liked dancing, and was a witty after dinner speaker. He had an almost cynical attitude to modern theological studies. The students ought to study Talmud and codes. All the rest of "Juedische Wissenschaft" was

"Mumpitz." Personally, he was the kindest of all men, free from all ceremonialism.

David Rosin was the one member of the faculty, to whom I stood in closest relation. He was the pedagog "par excellence," who prepared his lessons in exegetical and Midrashic literature, very carefully, and did his best to guide the students by personal contact. His home was delightfully domestic, his wife, the type of a German governess, with her blond curls, as you would find them in a fashion journal of seventy years ago, an almost devout admirer of her husband, and aiding him in making students feel at home. Rosin's qualities as a scholar are known from his various works, as his painstaking edition of Abraham Ibn Ezra's poems, and Samuel Ben Meir's Pentateuch commentary. In addition to the subjects mentioned, he taught homiletics. It was the rule that no-one should preach until he had passed four semesters, and then he had to begin in the classroom, to be licensed to preach in the synagogue, when he was considered sufficiently mature. The criticism in the classroom seemed to me even then somewhat pedantic. Rosin had not been a preacher, and his ideal of preaching was that of Michael Sachs (1806-1864) under whom he was superintendent of the religious school in Berlin and whose sermons he edited. Altogether, it seems to me that the seminary had a sort of convent atmosphere, quite apart from the actual life of the congregations, still cherishing the ideal of the first rabbis of modern education, with the conservative views of Zechariah Frankel, who in the twenty years of his administration, had im-

pressed his strong personality on the course of the seminary.

Having completed my academic triennium, I left Breslau in the summer of 1879 with the object of obtaining my degree at an Austrian university. Not considering it sufficiently important to analyze my psychology, and not even quite certain that I could do it, I limit myself to saying that I expected to enter a secular calling as teacher of history in a high school. For this purpose I had to take a course of two semesters in an Austrian university. It is perhaps necessary, in order to avoid misunderstanding, to state that if I had any scruples against entering the rabbinate, they were rather dictated by orthodox motives. I arrived at Vienna in the fall of 1879, and was matriculated at the University, where I took a historic course under Max Buedinger (1828-1902), the son of a Jewish teacher and author, who was appointed professor as a Jew, an event which was quite symptomatic of the liberal spirit in those days, but at some unknown moment, converted to Protestantism. Whether he was a Jew still in 1879, I do not know, but on the few occasions that he would touch in his lectures on Jewish matters, he seemed to be anxious to avoid the impression, that he was prejudiced in favor of Judaism. In an essay on the influence of Egyptian ideas on the religion of the Hebrews, printed in the publications of the Imperial Academy of Vienna, he quotes Amos V, 25, stating in a footnote that he gives Ewald's translation, as if he were anxious to avoid the suspicion that he was able to read the original, although my teacher Dr.

Feuchtwang told me that he instructed him in Mishnah in Cassel, where his father, Moses Buedinger, was teacher. Personally I had hardly any contact with him, for in a university with 4,000 to 5,000 students, there was not that relation between professors and students that we had in Breslau, where I was in very close contact with Professor Jacob Caro, the Jewish professor of history, who, though the son of a Polish rabbi, also kept aloof from all Jewish affairs.

While I had gone to Vienna for the purpose of pursuing my secular studies, I also attended the course in Talmud given in the Beth Hamidrash by Isaac Hirsch Weiss. This course was attended by very few students, none of whom was a regular university student, as far as I can remember. A few old men, retired from business, and some poor Talmudists, who received a stipend from the Beth Hamidrash, attended the course also. Weiss, though a brilliant scholar was not a teacher. He displayed a very hot temper, and if one dared contradict him, or would offer an explanation of a difficult passage that Weiss did not like, he came in for a volley of abuse. I may state this fact, because I enjoyed the distinction of being a favorite of his, as he showed afterwards, when he gave me a rabbinic diploma, without my asking him. The other lectures, given at the Beth Hamidrash by Meier Friedmann, and by Jellinek, I only attended occasionally as a visitor. Jellinek, however, was very kind to me. Before characterizing him, I wish to relate my first experience when I visited him. I arrived in Vienna during the Sukkoth week, and

thought it would not be a convenient time to make my first call. Jellinek had heard of my presence and knowing my name, because the rabbi of my native town, Dr. Friedlaender, had written to him about me, and in the previous year, I had received the stipend of 470 florins from the legacy of Baron Jonas von Koenigswarter, on which Jellinek had a decisive vote, and he considered my tardiness in making my appearance bad manners. Weiss told me of this fact, and naturally I called at Jellinek's house on the next Sabbath. The services are held in Vienna early, so that about 11 o'clock there usually was a reception, both at the houses of Jellinek and Guedemann. When I was ushered into the parlor, Jellinek took me into an adjoining room, and said in his lively manner, which characterized his speech at home as well as in the pulpit, "You have been in Vienna for two weeks. You know that I voted for you in the case of the Koenigswarter stipend, and you did not find it worth your while to call personally. I call this 'Juedisch.' Now I tell you what I am going to do for you. There is the Jeiteles stipend of 100 florins vacant. You make your application and hand it to me, and I will do the rest. This is the way Dr. Jellinek acts."

I cannot say that Jellinek ever impressed me as a snob. His vanity was something natural. He had been so blindly admired in Vienna that he took all the tribute of admiration as something entirely natural. He possessed a zeal in trying to help young men. I remember one time having met him on the street in one of these narrow lanes in the old part of the town near the Seitenstettengasse, where the

old synagogue is located, and where Jellinek lived. He approached me in his lively gait, and said in the loud tones, which was his habit, as usually is the habit of most persons hard of hearing, "What is the matter with you? I gave orders to examine the death records, to find whether you are still among the living. Why have I not seen you so long?" I remember today, my feeling of pride seeing a Jewish "Diestmann" (men standing on certain street corners, waiting for a call to take a message somewhere or to carry a burden), who stood all the time with his red cap in his hand, evidently deeply impressed with the importance of the young man, to whom the great preacher spoke in such familiar tones. Jellinek had the pompous attitude of the pulpit, even in his private conversation. A rather short man with his long curled hair, reaching to his shoulders, carefully dressed, he would suggest the actor in his appearance. I saw him for the last time in November, 1891, previous to my coming to America. A few months before, he had offered to me, without any solicitation on my part to suggest my name to a prominent congregation, where the pulpit was vacant. A few months afterwards, when my election to my present position in Cincinnati was reported in the press, I received again a letter from him, dated from Reichenhall, in which he said: "You are going to America although you know that Dr. Jellinek's influence would always be at your disposal, but fearing that I will not see you before you leave Europe, I wish you God speed." Making my last visit to Vienna, where I have relatives, I called on him. He was then almost

completely deaf, and in very poor health. One had to use a speaking tube to talk to him, which was somewhat unpleasant because his hair was very highly perfumed. When he complained of his health, I replied that his regular contributions to the "Neuzeit" did not make the impression that his mental vigor was impaired. He replied, "Oh, this is no work. You know I am an excellent conversationalist, and when I talked of current events in the family circle, my wife said, 'You are throwing pearls away.' So we made arrangements to have a stenographer present, who takes down my chat." Jellinek's fame as a preacher is a matter of historic record. I am guilty of the heresy that I could never become a blind admirer of his. There was something affected in his speech, and something intended to captivate the masses. In addition, his use of the old-fashioned methods of a "Maggid" by quoting a Midrash and twisting it altogether out of its meaning, impressed me as an anachronism. While not quite a quarter of a century has passed since his death, his era passed long ago. When he came to Vienna in 1856, it was believed that all that was necessary to perpetuate Judaism was correct German, an aesthetic change of the services, and general culture of the preacher. The fact that his own son, George, a brilliant scholar in international law, converted to Christianity, is, although it happened often enough in strictly orthodox circles, a significant fact.

Having finished the prescribed course of two semesters at the University of Vienna, I still remained there for a year, being busy with the preparation for

my examination. For examination as teacher of history in a high school, the law demands that one write three papers, one on his major, one on his minor subject and one in pedagogy. My major subject was history, the minor geography, and of the topics which were given to me I remember only distinctly the one on the major subject. It dealt with the status of the Roman citizens in the kingdom of the Langobards, previous to the promulgation of the "Edictus Rothari." My topic in geography dealt with the Alps, and that of pedagogy I have completely forgotten. Having barely completed my thesis on the major subject, I resolved to first take examination for the Ph. D. degree. I therefore submitted my thesis for such degree. The law prescribed that after such a thesis was presented and approved, the candidate had to pass examination in one major and two minor subjects. After my thesis had been accepted, I presented myself for examination, selecting as major, as the law prescribed, history, as minors, philosophy and classic philology. My examiners were, for history, Buedinger, for philosophy Robert Zimmerman (1824-1898), and for philology Karl Schenkl. It so happened that the main dignitaries connected with the examination and the public conferment of the degrees were historians. The Rector Magnificus of the University for the year was Ottokar Lorenz, and the dean of the department of philosophy Heinrich von Zeissberg, the tutor of Crown Prince Rudolf, who ended so unfortunately.

My first impression was one of considerable fright. Having been brought up in a little town in modest

circumstances and taught in the atmosphere of an Austrian "Gymnasium" to look up with awe to anybody in authority, I had failed to introduce myself to some of the examiners. Professor Zimmermann, the philosopher, told me in plain language that I had committed a great tactical blunder and Professor Schenkl did the same. The next trouble was that, when Zimmermann asked me, what I had studied, I said I had studied Spinoza. I learned now that the rules of examination for Ph. D. prescribed that the candidate must first name one department of philosophy, before he can select one special philosopher. This, however, was passed over very soon because Zimmermann himself helped me, saying: "Inasmuch as you say you have studied Spinoza, I take it for granted that you have paid particular attention to ethics." I naturally answered affirmatively, though outside of Spinoza's ethics I had not made any special study in that branch. In history I was well prepared, and as the examiner confined himself to the period with which my thesis dealt, I had no difficulty. When the examination in ethics began, things did not seem to run smoothly. I was asked how many different kinds of ethics I thought there were, and I had to admit my ignorance, but when the examination proceeded along Spinoza's system, and I was not only able to answer the questions, but could quote Spinoza's words fluently in the original Latin, I noticed that Zimmermann's face lit up. I must devote to this man a few remarks because he and Karl Neumann (1823-1880), professor of ancient history in Breslau, were the two men, who,

as far as my memory serves me now, had the most inspiring influence on me during my academic career. Zimmermann's appearance was striking, with his long flowing beard, his locks, and his tightly fitting "German coat." He had only a few notes on his desk, but spoke very fluently, and had a very fine delivery. At the same time his presentation was exceedingly clear, which especially in his lectures on history of philosophy, is not a general experience. Similar was Neumann in Breslau, who came usually with a well prepared "Kollegienheft," but interrupted his regular course by remarks which he delivered, in a highly impressive manner without refering to his manuscript. I remember especially the profound impression, created by his presentation of the struggle for economic betterment led by the Gracchus brothers, and of the corruption of Roman society in the midst of the greatest military triumphs under Scipio the Younger. It sounded like a political address on a question of the day. Neumann was not very active in literature, and his main work was published after his death from the manuscript of his lectures. He put his whole individuality, his ability and his learning into his academic work, a feature not very common among German university professors. Robert Zimmermann was a similar character. His lectures were polished, clear in thought, and brilliant in diction.

About two weeks after the examination came the official "Promotion," at which a regular pageant was formed led by the two "Pedells" in uniform bearing maces, the "Rector Magnificus," the dean of the philo-

sophic department, and the official "promotor." The details of the ceremony have entirely escaped me. I merely remember that Ottokar Lorenz delivered a commonplace speech, which created the impression that he regarded the whole ceremony as an empty formality. Altogether during his administration he was a disappointment to the students. As this is an incident connected with the development of Austrian politics, and of considerable influence on the position of the Jews, I shall devote a few words to it. In 1879 Austria amended its constitution. The Reichsrat, formerly composed of delegates of the various provincial diets, was now elected by the direct vote of the electoral districts. The premier Count Taaffe inaugurated a policy which abandoned the former hegemony of the Germans, trying to establish a harmonious presentation of the various nationalities, and making concessions to the feudal and clerical elements. This aroused the opposition of the German liberal party, which was in control of the university. In some way, which I do not exactly remember, Professor Lorenz came out with a strong condemnation of the new course, and the University in order to emphasize its endorsement of these views elected him "Rector Magnificus." For the information of those not familiar with the administration of German universities, I wish to add that the universities are divided into four departments, "Facultaeten," over each of which a dean, annually elected, presides. As head of the whole university a "Rector Magnificus" is elected, also for a term of one year, the four departments electing one of their men in turn.

Lorenz was elected, although his turn had not come. His inaugural address, dealing with one chapter of Aristotle's politics, was a masterpiece. He began with the humorous hit on the philologists, who had finally established that the sixth chapter of this book ought really to have been the eighth, or something to this effect, and then he proceeded, outlining Aristotle's views, and showing that the parliamentary form of government, then existing in Austria, could not have been classed by Aristotle as democracy, but as oligarchy. Being considered a representative of liberalism, he created quite a surprise, when on one occasion he seemed to take the opposite stand. The largest student society was the "Akademische Lesehalle," which on some question connected with the school law passed resolutions condemning the policy of the government. The minister of education demanded that this action be rescinded, and threatened with the dissolution of the society, if his order should not be obeyed. Lorenz met with the students, and pleaded in favor of complying with the order of the government. The hot-headed young men would not listen, and the society was dissolved by the order of the minister. It was in the club rooms of this society that I met Theodor Herzl, a year younger than I, a handsome tall young man, with a slight mustache covering his lip. I regret it now very much, that I did not keep an exact diary in those days, for his remarks on his relation to Judaism would possess now considerable historic interest. I have merely a faint recollection that he spoke of Judaism as something which had no real interest for him. I belonged to the

minority that opposed the identification of the society with the German liberal party, and therefore was connected with the non-German nationalities, among whom the Slavonian element was quite prominent. It may be added here that Lorenz afterwards continued in his opposition to popular ideas, and took the part of Professor von Maassen, who taught canonical law, and in order to obtain a professorship in this subject, had converted from Protestantism to Catholicism, and this created such an indignation amongst the students that Lorenz resigned, leaving Austria and spending the balance of his life in Jena. The opposition to popular ideas, and the desire to show the other side of a question was a typical feature of Lorenz's character, perhaps the true temper of a historian. In his lectures, when referring to the religious struggles of the sixteenth century, he would speak of the "Evangelical Reformed" and the "Tridentine Reformed" (Roman Catholic) churches. While he held his office as "Rector Magnificus," Vienna papers reported the annual Corpus Christi procession, which, in Vienna, as in all Catholic countries, is a state's affair, the Emperor himself with all dignitaries of the state, taking part. The papers reported that the "Rector" and the dignitaries of the University were seen in this procession. Lorenz sent a letter to the press, in which he declared that this report was wrong, and could not be true, because through the constitution of 1867, the universities had "finally" become separated from the church. The fact that he found it necessary to make such a statement, and the emphatic word "endlich" showed his view of

this question. It was therefore quite a disappointment to his admirers, that he should have taken the part of the clerical von Maassen. The unconventionality of his character was also shown during my examination. Professor Schenkl gave me a passage in Tacitus' "Annals" to interpret. There a word signifying some kind of arms occurred. I only knew that it meant some kind of a spear, but Professor Schenkl wanted to know more about it. I was sorry I could not oblige him. He then accommodated me with philological punctiliousness, giving me a description to which I listened quite attentively, feeling that the more time he consumed, the sooner the half hour assigned to the subject, would pass. Finally Lorenz pulled his colleague's sleeve and said: "Lass sein, schon genug."

With a feeling of pride, because I had not told my parents the exact date of the examination, I telegraphed the news home, and had the pleasure of a real vacation during the short time between the examination and the public "promotion." German universities do not have a regular day for the conferring of degrees, but bestow them individually. In Vienna on account of the large number of students several are brought together for the public function, and in my case there were three, of whom I remember only one, a Jew, Siegfried Meckler, who in response to the remarks made by "His Magnificence" made a speech in Latin, for which he had asked our permission.

My vacation I spent at home, preparatory to taking my position in Bruenn, to which I had been previously elected, with the understanding, that I enter upon

the duties of my new office at the beginning of the fall term. This position may be described as that of a Sabbath school teacher, although owing to the school system of Austria, it has a different character. This school system provides for religious instruction, as part of the prescribed curriculum, both in primary and secondary schools. Bruenn, measured by European standards, is a very young congregation. The Jews having been expelled in 1454, in connection with the anti-Husitic movement which was led by the Franciscan friar John Capistrano, were not readmitted until the constitution of 1848 abolished the restrictions on the right of residence. Then the congregation grew rapidly and had, when I arrived there in 1881, about 6,000 souls in a total population of 82,000. As the Jews formed a small percentage in the schools, it was necessary to combine the pupils of various schools outside of school hours, on Wednesdays, Saturday afternoons, and Sunday mornings to give them religious instruction. Only in a few schools, where the number of Jewish pupils was large, the instruction was given during the regular school time. The congregation had advertised for a teacher with academic training, and upon my application, I was elected without difficulty. The salary of 600 florins per annum was too small to attract many candidates. The object in electing me to the position was to have a suitable candidate in readiness for the position of religious instructor in the secondary schools, then filled by Daniel Ehrmann,[27] whose early retirement was contemplated. Ehrmann was a Bohemian rabbi of the old type, an autodidact in secular studies, and

[27] Jewish Encyclopedia, V, 75.

had great difficulty in maintaining discipline in the classroom. In one of the schools, where he taught, the Catholic teacher coined the "bon mot" that, when he entered the classroom, Daniel was in the lion's den. He died suddenly, November 15th, 1882, and this being in the middle of the term, the usual proceedure, demanding a public advertisement of the vacancy had to be omitted, and I was recommended to the provincial school board, to fill the vacancy for the balance of the school year, and appointed. The legal proceedure in filling such positions is this. The appointment rests with the provincial school board, consisting of the superintendents of education, and representatives of churches and other organizations that I do not remember in detail, presided over by the governor. This board, however, is bound to elect one who is previously approved by the representatives of the Jewish community. The salary is paid from the public school fund, but in those days was determined annually by the number of hours of instruction given. I had to teach in three schools, two "Gymnasiums" and one "Realschule" (science high school). There was another "Realschule" which had so few Jewish students that they were sent to the sister institution to receive their instruction. All these schools were German, there being two Slavic (Czech) institutions, one a "Gymnasium" and one a "Realschule," in which during my incumbency of six years, only one student was enrolled. After my year of probation, if I may term it so, I was elected to serve permanently, beginning with the scholastic year of 1883. My experience was a

pleasant one, although I still expected to enter secular teaching in history. For this purpose I wrote my examination papers in the three subjects previously mentioned, which were approved, but did not pass the oral examination. Conditions had meantime become unfavorable to Jewish candidates. The dearth of properly certified candidates for positions in secondary schools, created by the closing of the institutions under church control, had meantime been followed by an over-supply, and it was not unusual that a candidate had to wait ten years, before he was appointed to a regular position. The clerical element had gained headway, and began a regular attack on the liberal school law of 1868, which the government met by an amended school law of 1883, too intricate to be explained in detail, but intended to work against Jewish teachers without directly altering the constitution, and finally my duties and studies kept me so busy that I abandoned the plan altogether.

My relation with the school authorities was quite pleasant. The member of the provincial school board, to whose department my position was assigned was Dr. Joseph Naacke, a liberal, almost a cynic in religious matters, who to me privately expressed opinions, which very likely he kept to himself, when speaking to the Catholic teachers. When I made my first visit to his office, before receiving my appointment, he said to me: "I shall be frank with you. Personally I am very much in doubt whether religious instruction has any value at all, but if it is given in a manner, as was the case with your predecessor, who was unable to keep order in the classroom,

it is directly harmful. In his case, being an old man, we were indulgent, but in the case of a young man, such conditions will not be tolerated." He spoke also freely of the Catholic religion. "When I was a little boy," he said, "and I heard the chant 'Per omnia saecula saeculorum' I was profoundly impressed, but when I had learned enough Latin to know that it was a meaningless tautology, I began to be an infidel, as far as ecclesiastical conception of religion goes." As the two classes of high schoools were assigned to two departments, my course was inspected by two different superintendents. I also had to examine teachers who applied for a certificate in primary schools, religion being one of the subjects in which they were examined. This department was under the supervision of a third inspector. But my duties in this branch were light. The amended school law of 1883 had the effect that both normal schools for men and women were soon deserted by Jewish students. The regular proceedure in appointments was that a graduate of a normal school received his first position in a village. The village schools, usually having only one room, made the teacher principal, and the new law prescribed that the principal should be of the same religion as the majority of the pupils. The consequence was that a Jewish candidate would have to wait until a vacancy occurred in one of the schools of a larger city, which again was autonomous, and would not readily appoint a Jew, and finally if he succeeded in obtaining such an appointment, he could hardly expect to advance to the position of a principal, there being in Austria, with the exception

of Vienna, hardly any schools having a majority of Jewish children. The main difficulty in my position was that while my appointment was for a life tenure, it was temporary in so far as my salary was fixed from year to year, and I could not lay claim to a pension after thirty years of service, as was the case not only with the teachers of secular subjects, but also with the teachers of the Catholic religion. I made an attempt to have my position placed in the rank of the regular high school professors, laying my claims before the newly appointed minister of education Baron von Gautsch, afterwards premier. He was a young man then, and showed the usual disposition of young men, to favor radical changes, usually avoided by seasoned bureaucrats. The question had to go its regular course, from the provincial authorities to the central administration. My friend, Dr. Naacke, with his usual frankness, told me, "If you hand such a petition to the provincial school board, it will be turned down, because the sentiment is not favorable to the idea of placing Judaism on the same level with the Catholic church, but if you present the matter to the minister directly, and he should show himself favorably inclined, the provincial school board will hardly oppose his view." He added, however, that he did not consider such an eventuality probable. It turned out differently. I went to Vienna during the Christmas vacation of 1885, and laid my request personally before His Excellency. There I learned for the first time something about the usual method of pull, preceding official appointments, but in spite of a comparatively early acquaintance, I have not acquired much liking for it. The minister sent my

application, with a few blue-penciled remarks back to the provincial government, which in bureaucratic language meant that he expected favorable action. It is worth while recording that the Jewish member of the provincial board, Julius von Gomperz, (1823-1909),[28] though appointed to support Jewish interests, strongly dissuaded me. He was a type of the "Shtadlan" of old, a Jew almost in name only, and perhaps feeling like his brother, Theodor, professor of philosophy at the University of Vienna, who frankly states in his autobiography that he regretted not having converted to Christianity early in life. Julius von Gomperz, a member of that prominent family, to whose history David Kaufmann has devoted such painstaking study.[29] was president of the Jewish congregation for many years. He stood very high in public life, being for many years president of the Chamber of Commerce, member of the provincial diet of Moravia, of the Reichsrat, and afterwards of the House of Lords. His attitude to Jewish affairs was rather cold. It seems to have been dictated by the sentiment that Judaism has to be represented by people of high standing, who would make it as inconspicuous as possible to impress the leading circles with the fundamental article of assimilationism that a Jew is not different from his fellow citizens. In spite of the favorable position taken by the minister, and my personal endorsement by the provincial board of education, no action was taken, until years after I had left Europe.

[28]Jewish Encyclopedia, VI, 44.

[29]Kaufmann und Freudenthal: Die Familie Gomperz, Berlin, 1907.

This failure to obtain what I considered necessary in order to secure my future, made me change my former resolution not to enter the rabbinate. This was not due to religious scruples, as I have already observed, but rather the reverse. I wished to serve Judaism in an independent position. While in Vienna, though cut loose from theological studies, I was a regular attendant at the services of some orthodox synagog, and strictly observant in all ritualistic matters. I refused a very good offer to become tutor in a wealthy family because of my observance of the dietary laws. While engaged in my philosophical and historical studies, I frequently attended the Beth Hamidrash, and once a week remained there until midnight studying Talmud, together with a friend, a young business man. When I came to Bruenn I also attended the services in a little orthodox synagog that had its inception from a time previous to the readmission of the Jews to the city, serving then as a place of worship to those who came on business especially during the fair times, when Jews from all parts of the country had the right to remain in the city even over night. For the sake of my principle, I refused to accept a position as assistant rabbi, although in the last year, when an old Dajan, Veit Frischauer,[30] a representative of the old school, had died, I occasionally substituted the rabbi, Dr. Baruch Placzek, at weddings and funerals. Dr. Placzek, born in 1835, was then in the prime of manhood, and when I arrived in Bruenn, his father, Abraham Placzek, rabbi in Boskowitz, a town about thirty miles from Bruenn, was still living. Rabbi

[30]He died May 19, 1886 at the age of 83.

Abraham,[31] born in 1799, was a sympathetic representative of the old school, a good Talmudic scholar, and strictly observant. He was free from fanaticism and, without a fixed standard of how far he would go in accommodating himself to the demands of the new era, was tolerant. He often urged me to enter the rabbinate, and as this is typical for the sentiment of men of his type, I shall relate a story of his own life, as he told it to me, regretting that I cannot give it in his homely conversational Yiddish. "I can understand your position," he said. "When I was a young man I prayed that God should spare me the necessity of entering the rabbinate, and when I finally accepted my first position, and people would come, as is customary, at the two seasons of the year, on Purim and the great holydays, and give me their donations, it fairly burned my fingers. I put it in the drawer, and did not even look at it. By and by I became reconciled to my fate, feeling it was God's will that I should be a rabbi." After his death the congregation could not easily decide on a successor. The old man had held his office for forty-five years, and had impressed his community with his unique type so that a man of modern training would surely find it difficult to meet the requirements. It was nearly two years after his death, that I was asked to accept the position. Almost at the same time, again without any solicitation on my part, I was invited to come to Bruex, in Bohemia, with the view of filling the pulpit there. My conditions were that my candidacy should be decided on the day following my trial

[31] Jewish Encyclopedia, x, 69.

sermon, This condition was accepted, and I was promptly elected.

I had now to choose between two positions, if I did not prefer to remain in Bruenn, which some of my well meaning friends considered the proper thing to do. Boskowitz, like all the old Moravian congregations, that owed their existence to the legal restrictions on residence, was declining. In addition, I knew that I had to face an opposition on the part of the small strictly orthodox element, amongst whom was a highly respectable, very wealthy old man, in whose house I had often enjoyed hospitality. He had nothing against me personally, but as someone wittily remarked, he would have a rabbi like the late Abraham Placzek, only a little "frummer." Bruex was a new and rising congregation. Situated in the German north-west of Bohemia, at the foot of Erzgebirge, close to the border of Saxony, and in the center of a flourishing industrial district, it had developed within twenty years from very small beginnings, into a congregation of 120 members. Bruex is a so-called "royal city," which means that under the feudal system it had its autonomous administration, independent of the lords of manor. Like many such cities, it expelled its Jews, who cannot have been very numerous, in the fifteenth century. From that time on, Jews were not permitted to reside in the city, but came from surrounding villages close by to do business during the day. Perhaps due to the fact that these villages were so close to the city, it took longer until Jews became permanent residents, and it was not until 1868, that a congregation was estab-

lished. The majority of the members had come from two villages, Harreth and Lischnitz, being within a walking distance from the city. It was comical to observe, how the two factions, at least in their older representatives, opposed each other. Harreth, a village of about 300 people, with some twenty Jewish families, considered itself a metropolis. It had its own synagog building, and a well-to-do, comparatively better educated membership, with a physician in their midst. Lischnitz was smaller, its population poorer, and a garret room served as a synagog. When I arrived in Bruex, Harreth had been completely deserted by its Jewish inhabitants, with the exception of one deaf mute old woman, who lived in a house left to her by her father, but sold under the condition that she remain in possession during her life time. Lischnitz had still a handful of Jews, with a "Shochet," a glazier, who had come from Galicia and married a girl of this place. There were, of course, a number of people coming from other villages in the neighborhood, similarly depleted, and others from larger distances. The diversity of habits made the organization of the community difficult, and in the short time of its existence, it had had three rabbis. When I arrived, the process of amalgamation had been developed considerably, due especially to the president, Dr. Joseph Spitz, a prominent lawyer, and a genial personality, who as a young man in the thirties had been elected because it was felt that the old element of the village Kehillahs, were not the proper people to represent the Jewish community. The most interesting type of the old village Kehillah was

the old Hazan and Schochet, Getsch, or as he was officially called, Karl Stampfer, who had served the community of Harreth for thirty years or so before he came to Bruex with his flock. He had outgrown his usefulness to some extent, and the congregation had elected a modern cantor, while Stampfer officiated as his assistant and as Schochet. Had I taken longer to deliberate on the choice of positions, I would probably have remained in Bruenn, but I wished to make a quick decision, and so I entered upon my new office in September, 1887, a few days before Rosh Hashanah. My position was quite pleasant and the duties not too onerous, indeed far more easy than in Bruenn, where I had to rush from one school building to another and to bear the names of more than 400 students in my mind, with all the concomitant pastoral duties, when a mother pleaded with me to do something for Arthur, who was threatened with failure in mathematics, or a poor father tried to enlist my assistance in obtaining remission of the tuition fee of Moritz, or when I had to smooth out affairs arising from a breach of discipline, not counting many other similar communal duties cast upon a man in a prominent position. A few months, after I had entered upon my position in Bruex, I married, (May 10, 1888), and domestic life in a small city of 12,000 aided me in overcoming the difficulties of accomodating myself to the narrower condition of my environment, and to the social obligations, which in my former position as a government official, I did not have to regard. If there was anything which made me look for a change, it was just the narrowness of

conditions, and the desire to study, for which the small town offered no opportunity. I therefore was glad when I read in some German weekly paper an advertisement inviting candidates for the position of professor of history and philosophy in the Hebrew Union College. I had heard of Isaac M. Wise, through a friend of his, Adam Sattler, a retired teacher in my community, who had been serving as teacher in Radnitz, when Dr. Wise officiated there as rabbi. Besides, I had that usual enthusiastic belief in America and its opportunities, and above all, was anxious to devote myself to my specialty. To my letter, addressed to Dr. Wise personally, asking for details, I received a prompt and very kind reply, which practically said that the position was mine, if I would state definitely my desire to accept it. I naturally hesitated because to one used to life in small towns, such a change is a matter of great importance. I wrote accordingly, and received a letter, which seemed to me rather cool, but only three days later I received a second letter, dated July 24, 1891, in which Dr. Wise says: "I forgot in my letter to mention the main point. I shall not present any other candidate, until I hear from you definitely whether you will accept or not, and shall wait until September 1st. It is my wish to see you at this post. While I will not obligate myself to anything which is not in your contract, I can safely say that the College stands firmly like the mountains, and is deeply rooted in the love and respect of the American congregations." My letter of acceptance followed, and on the 17th of August, 1891, I received a cablegram: "Elected,

come soon, have written." This decided the matter, and on the 20th of November, 1891, I left Cuxhaven on the "Fuerst Bismarck," then the largest and fastest boat afloat, arriving at Hoboken on Saturday, November 28th, and in Cincinnati, on December 2, 1891. The history of the subsequent quarter of a century, I leave to some other writer, if one should find it worth his while, or if I should be granted sufficient leisure, and physical health in years of retirement, I may do so later, adding some features of Jewish "Kulturgeschichte" to those related, and leaving it to posterity to decide, whether they will find my notes as interesting and instructive as those of Leon Modena, of Glueckel von Hameln, and of Jacob Emden, the latter in many ways to me a model of learning and forceful character.

PHILOSOPHY OF JEWISH HISTORY.*

HISTORY requires an inductive method. From individual facts one ascends to principles. Facts have to be arranged in a systematic manner. In this respect the historian stands above the chronicler as an archeological museum stands above a second hand shop. On the other hand, the mere philosophist with a stock of high sounding phrases is no historian. First we must know, and afterward we may reason, says the Talmud[1]. Let us therefore turn to facts at once.

On the twentieth of December, 1860 a few intelligent Jews of St. Petersburg founded a society for the dissemination of enlightenment. This is in itself an unimportant event. The historical character comes from the typical in it. Czar Alexander II. has abandoned the rigorous despotism of his predecessor Nicholas I. He is willing to compromise with western ideas. An era of transition seems to be in progress, similar to that of western Europe during the first half of this century. The condition of the Jews is somewhat improved. Therefore the more educated class of the Jews feel that they have to do something in order to deserve the good-will of their ruler. The "Chossid" of Volhynia can not become a Russian citizen. He keeps aloof from both the intellectual and the social life of his environment. He speaks a language which is peculiarly his own. He dresses in a garb which has

* H. U. C. Journal, Vol. IV, pages 166-176, June, 1900.

[1] Sabbath, 63, a.

become distinctively Jewish. He considers it his religious duty to remain apart from his surroundings. He believes in a special miraculous gift bestowed upon his saints, he considers scientific education a sin. Shall he become a citizen of the land in which he lives he must amalgamate with it, he must speak its language, he must promote its culture, he must participate in its intellectual life, he must engage in such pursuits as are considered honorable, in agriculture, in mechanical arts, and in the learned professions. Unfortunately some individuals who followed that course had drifted away from Judaism altogether, and therefore the Jew of the old type considers participation in modern civilization equal to apostacy from Judaism. He must therefore be shown that his tenacity caused that feeling, he must be shown that Judaism is compatible with the highest culture of our age, as it was compatible with the highest culture of the 12th century in Mohammedan Spain or with the highest culture of the first century in Hellenic Alexandria. Culture must be brought to him through the medium of the Hebrew language, by rabbis of modern education, in the schools where his children acquire their religious knowledge.

Turning from this individual fact again to general principles we find the philosophy of history based on the ground of the following four empiric facts:

1. The chief forces of human history are the same in all ages;

2. The strongest force in shaping history is opposition;

3. There is a *vis inertiae* in spiritual as well as in corporeal life;

4. Life is a compromise between ideal and reality, i. e. between theoretic principles and actual conditions.

We shall now attempt to demonstrate the correctness of these principles in Jewish history.

The chief forces of human history, I said, are the same in all ages. The motives for man's actions are found mainly in his selfishness. Life has also imperative demands. Man needs food, needs shelter and loves comfort. In order to satisfy his demands he will become active, energetic, restless, even violent. Man's selfishness and his innate love of comfort will make him ambitious. Why? Simply, because all comfort is relative. A tramp making a trip from Germany to Italy, hiding in an empty freight-car travels in luxurious comfort when he compares his situation with that of the German kings of medieval times, when they went to Rome to receive the crown of the Roman emperors. But he does not see his situation in this light, he will compare it rather with that of the fellow-being who travels in the comfortable *waggon de lit*, and so will the latter. This comfort comes from the relative judgment. Any tenement in the down-town portion of New York City furnishes more comforts than the mansion of the patrician in the ghetti of Frankfort, Prague or Rome a century ago. It has gas light, it has a hydrant, furnishing water at all times and in any quantity, it has better heating facilities than Maier Amschel Rothschild had ever known. Still the people living in those tenements naturally will compare their situation with those of the dwellers in the aristocratic mansions, and vice versa. Maier Amschel Rothschild felt comfor-

table in the ghetto because his situation was infinitely superior to that of so many others who breathed the same air with him.

Ambition and jealousy consequently have reigned all through the ages of the world's history. But there are some people who prefer a portion of herbs in peace to the stalled ox which requires so much care. They feel contented in their resignation. Such people also existed in all ages.

By the laws of nature parents love their children. They wish to see them happier, wealthier and wiser than they themselves have been. The king on the throne, the peasant behind the plow, the troglodyte in prehistoric times and the financier in the twentieth century, the mechanic in his shop, the pope in his labyrinthian palace have been, are, and will be actuated, by the motive to bequeathe to those nearest them the inheritance which they have received, augmented, strengthened and protected against future reverses.

The modern financier will create a trust for his profligate son in order to secure to him the advantages of the fortune accumulated by his father. A member of the landed aristocracy in Germany or in Austria will press a bill through legislature making his estate a fideicommisum so that his son might be secure in the undisturbed possession of his immense estates. Napoleon obtained a divorce from the woman he loved because he wished an heir to whom he could transfer the results of his military achievements. Rabbi Judah Ha-nasi made use of his authority by appointing as his successor his son Gamaliel, whom

our sources call a small man. The Polish rabbi of our day will do the same, the American rabbi would if he could.

Great manufacturers introduce bills into legislatures securing high protective tariffs or maritime subsidies in order to advance their commercial interests. The rabbis of Jerusalem in 1509 issued an order that no one should impose any tax on talmudic scholars, no matter how wealthy they might be, and in 1629 Yom Tob Lipman Heller, then rabbi of Prague, is accused of favoring the rich in the assessment of taxes. I recently expressed to a member of the *Repräsentanten*, the congregational board of Berlin, my astonishment at the remarkable fact that such an enlightened body should still be actuated by the false desire to strengthen religion through the assistance of the state. The gentleman replied: The worst offenders in this respect are the rabbis. They look with great envy upon the fellow-members of their profession in the German South, where the state guarantees their position. They would like to be appointed by the state, but they would hate to receive their salaries from the state, because they know they are better off when they are paid from congregational coffers.

2. The strongest force in history, I said, is opposition. This is an undisputable fact, although we are not always conscious of it. As Jews we are at a loss to define our position so as to do justice to all views on Judaism. The Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1898 appointed a committee to frame a set of principles comprising the essential doctrines

of Judaism. This committee has not reported. Suppose it should bring in a report which would have the unanimous approval of all its members, a possibility which is by no means a probability. Suppose that all American Judaism including the Portuguese congregations of the ancient type and the orthodox of Russian descent as well as the radicals of the left wing, were to adopt it, would it be approved by the orthodox of Germany of the Hildesheimer type, would it be accepted by the somewhat darker shade of orthodoxy as represented by the school of the late rabbi Seligmann Baer Bamberger of Wuerzburg, would it be acceptable to the Rabbi of Kowno, to the Hasidim community clustered around the saint of Sadagora or to the communities of Tripoli and Morocco? Hardly! But one thing all these shades of opinion have in common. It is the consciousness that they are not Christians.

This feature is by no means unique in Judaism. Take the whole range of religious views comprised under the name of Protestant churches. Here we have the Episcopal church teaching that priests have the right to forgive sins, having in their churches altars, crucifixes, vestments and a number of other features which the Puritans would consider as heathenish or popish ritualism. Here you have the Presbyterian church teaching that every word in the Bible is inspired, there you have ministers and professors in theological seminaries who teach both in their lectures and in their published works that the whole story of Jesus' birth is a mythical fabrication, that his resurrection was a hallucination, a dream of mystics, that

the Pentateuch is composed of many independent fragmentary writings each of which had a different character and represented a different religion. We have had evangelical congresses of late at which speakers declared that Jesus was not infallible, that some of the moral principles which he taught were fallacies due to the limitations of his age, while we hear on all street-corners the doctrine preached that society can not be moral, public life can never be sound, individuals can never be happy, unless we turn back to the Savior.

Still all this galaxy of opinions is found in the one Protestant church. What unites them is their opposition to the church of Rome. It is negation not assertion which is the best expression of our ideas.

Let us leave the field of religious and turn to political history. What could have attracted the sympathies of the Irish Roman Catholic population to the Boers who disenfranchised all Roman Catholics? The antagonism to England. Why should the descendants of the Bourbon Kings have rejected the French tricolor and demanded the traditional lilies? Because the tricolor owes its existence to the revolution. The Conservatives in the Prussian diet were opposed to the building of a navy because the first impetus for that innovation had come from the Frankfort Parliament, a revolutionary body. The emperor of Austria, when he found himself obliged to accede to the demand of the revolution and to grant a constitution, the Parliament was to be called not *Reichstag* but *Reichsrath*. It was at least in name a victory over revolution. The German Emperor wrote into the

album of the city of Munich the famous words: The will of the prince is the supreme law. If he cannot write it into the constitution, he will write it into the album that he is opposed to the fundamental principles of the modern state.

In 1870 pope Pius IX. pressed the passage of the dogma of infallibility. Why? He had been expelled from his city by the revolution which he thought would make him king of a federation of Italy. Restored to his throne, he felt that he could not compromise with revolutionary forces either in theory, or in practice. So he in 1854 promulgated the doctrine of Immaculate Conception. The council of Trent had still withheld a definition of that doctrine. It was considered wise to have a certain freedom of teaching in the Catholic church. Mary, while a superior personality, whould remain a human being insofar as she had been born in sin and needed salvation by Jesus' death. But the pope was desirous to show to the world that he was not afraid of increasing the great wealth of faith which the Catholic church had stored up in so many canons, bulls and encyclicals.

In 1858 he perpetrated the greatest crime committed in the 19th century in the name of religion. He tore Edgar Mortara, a child of six years, from the arms of his mother, because a servant girl had confessed that she had baptized him. The whole civilized world was stirred with indignation. Catholic sovereigns raised a voice of warning. But the head of the Catholic church wished to demonstrate to the world that he would not give up one iota of the medieval conception of ecclesiastic authority and even today

the church, guided by the principles of Pius and his Jesuit advisers, instead of hiding her shame will parade the poor victim of her crime in order to demonstrate her defiance of what civilization considers the most sacred right of man.

In 1864 the same pope celebrated the tenth anniversary of the promulgation of the new dogma. He considered it a good opportunity to show again his defiance of the demands of modern civilization. He published the syllabus of errors, common in our time, and this syllabus comprised the freedom of worship, the freedom of the press, the equality of all citizens in the eyes of the law. The world was shocked, for the pope announced that he was ready to burn heretics and infidels at the stake and to subject every newspaper to ecclesiastic censorship, if he had the power to do so. He could not reasonably expect that power, but he felt the need of professing before the whole world, as the syllabus declared it, that the pope would never compromise with liberalism.

In 1870 he crowned his work by the declaration of infallibility. It seemed altogether superfluous, for the pope had in 1854 promulgated a dogma without asking anybody's consent, but another declaration of uncompromising adherence to medievalism was to be made, another cry of defiance was to be uttered, and it was done in spite of the warnings by some of the most prominent prelates of Catholicism, by Ketteler, Rauscher, Dupanloup and Strossmayer.

These individual instances could be endlessly multiplied. The whole history of religion is an exemplification of protest against ecclesiastical tyranny on

one hand and of protest against revolutionary movements on the other.

Luther protested against the claim of the church that she could pardon sins. The council of Trent protested against all individualism and criticism by the enactment of the doctrine of transsubstantiation, by the definition of the Bible, by its canonization of the Vulgata, by its declaration of the sacramental character of the priesthood and by the whole fabric of the church which was the result of its proceedings.

The Puritans protested against all ecclesiastic authority. They rejected the book of common prayers, they abhorred crucifixes, altars and vestments, they prohibited the singing of hymns. The word of God alone should be heard in their churches.

The Quakers protested against priesthood in any form and against the enactment of any laws; even the Puritan Sabbath to them was tyranny.

Inner Jewish history shows the same principle. We may best illustrate it by instances from the last phase of our history. Covered or uncovered head has been the Shibboleth in both camps of Judaism. Outsiders cannot understand it. Perhaps later centuries will fail to understand it too. Our old codes know of no law which would require of the worshippers to have their heads covered. The covered head is simply an attitude of decorum for both men and women. As such it is demanded in the worship just as in our days the hats of women and the shoes of men. The famous Jewish scholar Elijah Wilna the Gaon (1721-1797) considers the covered head simply as a matter of public decorum[3]. Still in our age it has become the

[3] Jew. Enc. II, 530-533.

symbol of the Jewish manner of worship, so that even Graetz who was one of the boldest Bible-critics speaks with bitter disapproval of the American synagogue in which the worshippers sit with uncovered heads.[4]

Another instance will be a revelation even to very conservative Jews in our country. Since time immemorial it was customary to have the platform in the centre of the synagogue, at least amongst the Ashkenazim, for in the old Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam I found the Bima near the entrance. When in modern times the sermon began to occupy a more important part in the services, it was found necessary to place the pulpit in the front-end of the synagogues. This could not be called a violation of the law but it was denounced by the orthodox, and one orthodox rabbi David Deutsch[5] in Balassa Gyarmath 1812-1878 decides that it is a mortal sin to recite Kaddish in such a synagogue. Why? Because of the opposition to all innovations in worship.

Was it ever different? Hardly. In a Talmudic law which I would date from the second century we find the statement that a man may divorce his wife, even if she burned his soup. R. Akiba, not satisfied with this example adds: Even though he found another woman which pleases him better.[6] Should R. Akiba, whom tradition has made the hero of a romantic story in which he confessed to owe to his wife all that he had accomplished,[7] should he have been an advocate of such levity in regard to matrimonial bonds? Hardly. But here again the spirit of opposition is

[4] Graetz: Volkstuemliche Geschichte, III, 731.
[5] Jew. Enc. IV, 547.
[6] Gittin, 90, a.
[7] Nedarim, 50, a.

visible. Christianity had taught that no one could put his wife away except for adultery[8], as was taught also by the school of Shammai. The school of Hillel objected to it and its opposition took the form of strict denial in the words in which R. Akiba clothed his protest.

We ought not to wonder if we see in R. Akiba's exegetical methods a principle to explain the law not merely in its context, but even every letter or as some antagonist put it, that R. Akiba built upon the flourishes of every letter heaps upon heaps of laws.[9] It was done in opposition to the Christian principle that the laws are merely a symbolic expression of religious ideas. Christianity had further accepted from Hellenistic philosophy the method of an allegoric interpretation of the biblical stories and characters. Rabbi Akiba on the other hand had insisted on the literal character of all biblical narratives, so that his contemporaries accused him of blasphemy.[10]

From the point of view of opposition we can perhaps understand the peculiar law of prohibition of the mixture of meat and milk which is first mentioned by the authorities of the second century.[11] The biblical law: Thou shalt not seethe the kid in the milk of its mother,[12] had been explained by the Alexandrian philosophers[13] from humanitarian principles. Man should not harden his feelings. Against this, rabbinical theology

[8] Matthew V, 32.
[9] Menahot, 29, b.
[10] Hagigah, 14, a.
[11] Hullin, 103, b-104, a.
[12] Ex. 23, 19, 34, 26, Deut. 14, 21.
[13] Philo, II, 399, Ritter: Philo und die Halacha, 19, Yearbook C. C. A. R. VI, 159, 1897.

took the stand that God's laws must not be explained from ethical principles but that they are mere decrees.[14]

Are we not reminded of the Catholic definition of the Lord's supper as laid down in the canons of the council of Trent.[15] Calvin had taught that the Lord's supper was merely a symbol of Jesus' death. Against this view the Catholic church took a stand insisting that by the consecration the wafer became the flesh, and the wine the blood of Jesus Christ.

Rabban Gamaliel had introduced a fixed ritual. Rabbi Eliezer teaches that a fixed formula of prayer can not be called a devotion.[16] Similarly the Catholic church has compiled its order of services for the mass, its formula for all priestly performances, its Rituale Romanum and even its authorized litanies for private devotion, while the Puritans, as already stated, would not permit even hymns to be sung in their churches.

3. Contrary to these revolutionary forces there is, as I stated, a spirit of mental inertia in man. We hate to leave our places, we hate to change our vocations, we hate to arouse a disturbance, because rest is comfort and we love comfort. In this principle are included all the various conditions which we comprise under the name of historical conditions, because they are the result not of laws of nature, nor of logical developments, but of historical facts. That New York has become the greatest seaport of the American continent is the effect of logical causes, but that its language is English and not Spanish or Dutch is merely the effect of historical causes. That

[14] Berakot, 33, b.
[15] Canones et Decreta, Sessio XIII, C. VIII.
[16] Berakot, 28, b.

the Jews in our days live mostly in cities and are never found in large masses in rural communities is the effect of historical conditions which rendered it impossible for them to engage in the tilling of the soil. It was the effect of historical conditions that, from the middle of the fifteenth century down to the middle of this century, they were mostly found in villages or in small towns. The causes are to be found in the feudal constitution of the medieval ages. Up to the fifteenth century the cities were mostly settlements around the castle of a nobleman. The burghers needed his protection and therefore placed themselves under his jurisdiction. When they had grown strong enough to stand on their own feet and to protect themselves, the Jews, who formerly were kept by the nobleman for the sake of the revenue which he could derive from them, were expelled, because the burghers saw in them competitors in business and did not care for the revenue which not they personally but merely the municipal treasury could derive from them. When from the seventeenth century on the growing centralization of political power in the hands of the princes or the division of citizens into a ruling class of patricians and into a mass of merely tax paying burghers had changed the conditions, the Jews returned to the places whence they had been expelled, and finally when the freedom of residence became universally acknowledged by legislation, the small towns became deserted and the large cities were populated by Jews.

It is due to historic conditions that perhaps the majority of all the Jews of the world live in western Russia, in eastern Prussia and in the Austrian pro-

vinces of Galicia and Bukowina. These provinces are parts of the former kingdom of Poland, whither the Jews had been attracted by the primitive state of its affairs. It had only a nobility and serfs, no middle class of any kind, and so the Jew found here a place as a mediator between producer and consumer, as a pioneer of civilization, as a mechanic and importer. Another reason for the marvellous growth of the Jewish population in that country is found in its anarchical form of government. Here they were free from the curse of the law, framed ever anew in western Europe with the purpose of ruining them materially, of degrading them socially, and making their lives miserable in every respect. Thither they fled, who had been dragged into churches by furious mobs and had in view of cruel death accepted baptism. Thither they fled who had voluntarily abjured their faith and repenting of their act were forced to leave a country where canonical law could not be trifled with and would deliver them to the secular arm with the hypocritical commendation of mercy. Thither they fled who had been warned in time of the terrible rumor that they had dissuaded a prospective Jewish convert to Christianity from leaving his ancestral faith or that they had pierced a consecrated host which in times of general belief in Transsubstantiation always shed blood, or those who were accused of having stolen a Christian child for the purpose of using its blood in the Mazzot, or those who had uttered a word of disrespect in regard to Jesus and his mother. Thither went those Christians who had become converts to Judaism and so historical conditions have brought it about that

there are in the provinces of Kowno and Suwalki perhaps half a million of Jews while perhaps 200,000 natives of these provinces will be found in American cities.

Our internal religious life is also full of evidences of the workings of historic conditions. It is due to such that circumcision has remained a sacred institution, while the laws of levitical purity have gone down to oblivion, that the sacrifices were abolished, while the law of Hallah, the sacrifice of the portion of the dough[17] became one of the most sacred duties of Jewish women. It is due to historic conditions that the Talmud of Babylonia became the favorite text-book of Jewish students, while the Talmud of Palestine has become a rare specialty of extraordinary scholars, Had Europe been first populated by settlers from Palestine, the reverse would have taken place. It is due to historic causes that the Jews of Poland, of south-western Russia and Roumania speak a German Yiddish, while those of Turkey and Morocco speak a Spanish Yiddish and the Jews of Corfu living in the midst of a Greek population speak the Italian.

Historic conditions are responsible for the rise of the modern reform-movement in Germany, for its growth in the United States of America and for its lack of success in England and its colonies. In Germany the Jew was nearest to the culture of his age. His language and his small settlements brought him more in contact with his neighbors. The era of deism, Aufklärungsepoche, influenced him more directly than was the case anywhere else. He felt that he owed a duty of self-emancipation to those who would receive

[17] Yoreh Deah, 322-330.

him in their midst. But the legal recognition of the congregation which had the right to assess all Jewish inhabitants of a town made it necessary to consider the needs and wishes of the orthodox minorities, and therefore reform could not make that progress which it was able to make in America where no state organization supported or protected congregations, where religious individualism was the characteristic feature of national life. In England on the other hand there seemed to be no need to reform the services of the synagogue in order to improve the political situation of the Jews. There it was a feature of both national life and of social propriety to be conservative in religion. We are children of destiny, the poor tin-ware peddler who came over from Szagarren in the government of Kovno and his son who has become an American lawyer.

4. Life is a compromise between ideal and practice. This was our fourth thesis. When we can not obtain all our demands we accept part of them. When the emperor of Austria could not rule any more without a legislature elected by the people, he granted a Reichsrath, congratulating himself that he had freed himself from the phantom of the Reichstag. When King George III. saw that he could not enforce the stamp-tax he accepted as a substitute the duty on tea. It was on one hand an acknowledgement that he had to yield to the wishes of the colonial population, but on the other hand an assertion of his right to raise revenue from the colonies without consulting them. When the crime perpetrated against Dreyfus could not be hushed up any longer, a compromise was

accepted that he should be retried, convicted and pardoned.

In religion perhaps longer than in any other department of spiritual life the claims of the past and the needs of the present will collide and in the end settle their conflicting interests by a compromise.

A beautiful story is told by Ekkehard, the monk of St. Gallen. The duchess of Suavia wished to see the convent. This was contrary to the rules of St. Benedict, the founder of the order, who had said that no woman should ever set her foot on the threshold of a monastery. But the duchess was a great patroness of the convent and the fathers feared to displease her. So Ekkehard proposed that someone should carry her over the threshold and the compromise between the ideal and the condition was affected.[18]

A recent case published in the *Acta Sanctae Sedis*[19] is another illustration. The Catholic church does not permit a divorce, but practical conditions require it sometimes, especially in countries where the law of the state permits it. A Catholic couple in France had separated, the husband had married after the court had pronounced a divorce, but the wife, as a good Catholic, could not marry. Now the wife applies to the pope stating that her mother had forced her into that marriage. The mother corroborates the testimony of her daughter by the assertion that she had done so, because she was afraid that her daughter might marry a Jewish young man who had been a persistent suitor, and as she, the mother, had married a Jew, she wished to protect her daughter from a

[18] Scheffels' novel: Ekkehard.
[19] Vol. XXXII, p. 27-45. Rome, 1899-1900.

similar fate. This assertion is accepted by the Holy congregation of the Council, and while divorce cannot be pronounced, the marriage is declared invalid because of coercion which constitutes the lack of *consensus*.

Our Jewish Law, sharing with the Catholic the theory of unchangeableness, presents everywhere instances of such compromises. Who does not know the delicious "Shalet" which inspired Heine to the statement that Judaism is the best religion.

> Ihr habt die beste Religion
> Schalet ist Götterspeise.

This dish for gods is the result of a compromise. Cooking is prohibited on the Sabbath, but cooking in the proper sense can be called only the preparation of meals by the medium of fire. If we put our dishes in a warm place on Friday and the hot air cooks them over night, *we* have not cooked them and may with undisturbed ease of conscience enjoy our warm meal.

It would be wrong however to treat this part of our subject in its degeneration. That would be a caricature. Compromise is in itself the wisdom of life. We move by steps and not by leaps. The English people who have slowly and by degrees developed from a despotic state into a free country have acted more wisely than the French who jumped from despotism into a doctrinarian ideal of freedom which was a tyranny worse than the autocracy which it had superseded and finally ended in a military dictatorship. In religion also the proper regard for the right of the historical "*das historisch Gewordene*" is a wise course, and it is the logical method of religious evolution.

Modern Judaism has everywhere adopted this system. The orthodox of modern type while adhering to the traditional principle in religious observances, as far as the ritual and the dietary law demanded, has quietly abandoned the stand-point of his forefathers who condemned secular education and social life of the modern type. He loves instrumental music, he even tolerates vocal music, he no longer believes in the necessity of keeping up the tradition which demanded that the Jew should be distinct from his neighbor in his appearance. The conservative quietly permits the infringement of the most rigorous Sabbath and dietary laws. He will carry and open an umbrella on the Sabbath which once was a mortal sin.[20] He would eat the bread of non-Jews, drink their wine and their milk. The liberal, the so-called reformer, will insist on the retention of the Hebrew in the worship, he will not miss the scroll of the law written on parchment, he will retain the ancient formula of marriage and the Kaddish for the dead. Even the most radical stops at the Jewish calendar and avails himself of the religious force which "the days of awe" carry with them.

It has never and nowhere been different. Luther has retained two sacraments which had no more basis in the Bible, his only recognized source of authority, than had the five other sacraments of the Catholic church which he rejected. Calvin retained the belief in Trinity which rests just as much on the authority of church-councils as the worship of saints which he rejected.

[20] Ezekiel Landau, Resp. II, Orah Hayyim, 30.

Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai, the founder of rabbinical Judaism, while refusing to continue the offering of sacrifices, retained the custom of the priestly benediction pronounced by the sons of Aaron and otherwise arranged the worship of the synagogue according to the tradition of worship in the temple of Jerusalem.[21] Maimonides considers the whole sacrificial cult as a mere concession to heathenish customs.[22] Rabbi Joshua excuses the inconsistency of celebrating all holydays double while Yom-Kippur is only celebrated one day with the formula: We cannot make laws which the majority of the people could not observe.[23] Even the Shulhan Aruk otherwise the advocate of rigorism has laid down the principle: We cannot enforce the laws of the Thora in uncompromising rigor,[24] and one of the greatest authorities of modern times, Rabbi Isaac Elhanan Spector of Kowno (1817-1896) said in regard to one talmudic law that it had become meaningless in the era of telegraph and daily papers.[25]

Inconsistency is the result of the unavoidable conflict between tradition and the requirements of the age. We do not shape our destiny as much as it shapes us.

> Was That wird, folgt dem Zwang von tausend Leben,
> Was du gethan, ist, was du gesollt.

[21] Weiss: Dor, Dor we—Doreshaw, II, 38-39.
[22] Moreh, II, 32.
[23] Baba Batra, 60, b.
[24] Hoshen Mishpat, 17, 3.
[25] עין יצחק, p. 230, Wilma, 1888.

"MINIMA CURAT HISTORICUS."*

SOME time ago a remark was made by a man of considerable authority, disparaging the value of historical details by the illustration that some people are never happy until they have established beyond a doubt what color the stockings were which Rabbenu Tam's grandmother wore on Sabbath-'Hanukkah. Humor is a two-edged sword. It is a good weapon against abuses but it may be wielded with the same effect in the wrong place. In a well-drawn caricature you may recognize the person represented, but this does not make the caricature a portrait.

As in a caricature, so there is some truth in a satire, and also in that satire on historical rag-picking. There are certainly a great number of things published which do not contribute in the least to our knowledge of past ages and persons. The publication of an order issued by his excellency the "Geheimer Hofrath von Goethe" to have the shelves in the grand-duke's library painted brown, does not help us in the least to understand Goethe, his works or his age. This instance, by the way, is chosen from actual occurences.

Still, occasional aberrations do not prove the falsity of a principle. There are a great many details of considerable importance in history, and my studies have shown me so many instances that I thought it a profitable lesson to publish some of the most striking illustrations.

*The Reform Advocate, Dec. 31, 1898 and Feb. 4, 1899.

Was St. Just, the Jacobin and friend of Robespierre, in Paris during the night following the second of September, 1792? It seems to be a very trivial question. The fate of Jena or of Waterloo would hardly have been different. The republic would have ended in a military despotism and finally in the restoration of the Bourbons, no matter whether Saint Just was in Paris during that night or whether he was not. Still this question is of considerable importance. Lamartine in his "Histoire des Girondins" (ii. 192-193) tells us that Robespierre spent the night, from the second to the third of September, in St. Just's room; that he walked up and down all night or tried to cool his forehead by pressing it against the window-pane, and that Saint Just, when he awoke in the morning was quite astonished to see Robespierre in his room, because he thought the latter had gone home and had returned at so early an hour. But Robespierre said: How could I have slept in a night when thousands of victims will fall under the hands of executioners? Danton slept but I could not.

This very touching story is evidently meant to show us that Robespierre, the butcher, was at the bottom of his heart the same sentimental disciple of Rousseau as we know him in the national assembly when he denounced capital punishment in the most unmeasured terms. So poor Robespierre was only the victim of a popular craze which saw on every street-corner a traitor ready to sell the dearly bought liberty to any one willing to make an acceptable bid. Perhaps he had been led astray by such unscrupulous demagogues as Danton and Marat. Certainly he

was not a mere politician, who denounced tyranny only until he had succeeded in erecting his own throne. He had, on the second of September, 1792, not forgotten that on May 30, 1791, he had denounced capital punishment as a most cowardly act of asassination, but he acted and spoke under the spell of the delusion that Paris was full of hired traitors.

Perhaps this was the case; but it is very certain that he did not spend that fatal night in the company of Saint Just, because Saint Just was at that time stumping in Soissons. So the whole touching story is a mythical fabrication, the sort of fiction, the poet needs to bring a tragical character nearer to our understanding by making him more humane. Fleury, who in his "Etudes Revolutionaires," I.151-156, has taken the trouble to investigate these insignificant details of Saint Just's whereabouts on a certain date, has well served the cause of history.

Leaving the field of the great theater of universal history and returning to my own experiences, I can give another striking illustration of the importance which small matters possess in history. When I went to Breslau, to commence my theological studies (1876), Leyser Lazarus was the director, but Graetz, contrary to the German usage which gives to everybody his official title, referred to him always as "Herr Doctor Lazarus" Only once he spoke of him as our "director." This was January 27, 1879, when the seminary celebrated the anniversary of Jonas Fraenckel its founder and Graetz, as the dean of the faculty, acted in place of the director then on his deathbed. Even then, when he referred to the sickness of the

president, he hesitated; for it evidently choked him to pronounce the word "director."

This incident is not told in Graetz's biography, recently published by the Jewish Publication Society. And still to me it seems significant. It shows the smallness of the great man; and besides it is otherwise of general interest to the student of Jewish history. Zechariah Frankel was the spiritual founder of the Breslau seminary. Such a thing was a *novum* in 1854. It was indeed a serious question whether it ever would be possible to train Jewish rabbis from the ranks of young men who had gone through a regular course of secular education and to gain for them the religious confidence of the conservative communities. The experiment proved a success, but this to a large extent was due to Frankel's reputation as a Talmudic scholar and to his conservative principles. He was a rabbi who could stand comparison with anyone in the orthodox camp, and so his signature under a rabbinical diploma would be discounted everywhere.

After his death, Graetz aspired to the presidency. He certainly was the best known scholar of the faculty, and, perhaps, the best known Jewish scholar in the world. This was not denied, but it was feared that his name would not be of sufficient weight in the Jewish world when he signed a rabbinical diploma, for he was not a master in the labyrinth of legal dialecticism. A Jew of the old school might not entrust the decision of a ritual question to a rabbi, who had no other title to such an important office, than a diploma signed by Graetz who, conservative though he was, was denounced as a heretic. And so a rabbi

had to be chosen who could be considered an expert in the field of Halakah.

Still in 1879, after Lazarus' death, Graetz won a partial victory. While he was not made director, the latter office was abolished and a "Seminarrabbiner" was elected, a compromise between the claims of the orthodox who knew of a rabbi only in the sense of an expert in ritual law, and those of the modern school to whom Talmudic literature was only one domain of Jewish theology of no higher value than liturgical poetry and of less importance than historical literature.

So this little difference between the "Herr Director" and the "Herr Doctor Lazarus" gives us in a nutshell the evolution of Jewish theology. The first rabbinical generation of the 19th century represents the uncompromising negation of all secular knowledge. The second generation accepts secular education as a complement of Talmudic scholarship. The third generation regards the study of the Talmud merely as the study of the sources of one phase of the religious evolution of Judaism and this Talmudic study has to be emancipated from dialecticism to be treated according to the general principles of historical criticism. What the fourth generation is going to do, belongs to the hidden things which are the Lord's our God's and it almost seems as if the emancipation from rabbinical literature would make another stride forward.

II

Having spoken of Jewish theology in its inner development, I can prove the same principle of the

value of small things, in the position which Jewish theology holds in the world. A few years ago a rabbinical seminary was opened in Vienna. The idea to erect a training school for rabbis under the auspices of the government had been conceived at the beginning of the century, and owing to the traditional tardiness of the Austrian government, it required almost four score years to carry it into effect. Finally it was opened under the name of "Israelitisch theologische Lehranstalt." The two letters "k.k." (kaiserlich königlich), so lavishly prefixed to all public institutions in Austria, are here omitted. The various dioceses are governed by a royal college of canons "kgl. Domkapitel," even that stepchild of the government, the Protestant church, is governed by a "k.k. evangelischer Oberkirchenrath," and its ministers receive their instruction in a "k. k. evangelisch-theologische Facultät," but Judaism could not be allowed the attribute "k.k.," for this would have made Judaism a factor, possessing equal rights with Christianity, in public life. For the same reason its ministers could not be trained in a *facultät*, and therefore this institution was reduced to the rank of a *Lehranstalt*, just as the Protestant seminary, while raised to the rank of a k. k. Facultät, was in spite of all efforts on the Protestant side not made part of the university of Vienna. In Tübingen, in Bonn, in Breslau and elsewhere in Protestant countries, the Catholic church could exercise tolerance and allow a Protestant faculty an equal position in the academic body, but in Catholic Austria the church could never permit its theological professors to be placed on one level with the expounders of heresy.

So do not talk of historical minutiae without the proper precaution! "Facultät" and "Lehranstalt" are synonyms; Jewish theology can be no more imperial and royal than geology or anatomy, but the omission of the "k. k." and the use of the one synonym in preference to the other, gives us in a nutshell an idea of the political position of Judaism in Austria. It cannot be ignored, because it is impossible in our day to spend the money of the taxpayers, to which the Jews undoubtedly contribute more than their pro-rata, in the interest of the Catholic church, without giving them some paltry recognition, but still the line must be drawn somewhere.

And in the general situation in Austria you can prove the same. The custom houses are "k. k.," the military barracks are "k. und k." It grammatically amounts to the same thing. You may divide two adjectives by a comma or join them with a conjunction, but politically it has helped Austria to overcome a serious crisis. The Hungarians, once more on the brink of revolution because of some act of the central government which they considered a violation of their independence, were finally pacified by the concession of the little "und," which should prove that the army, while under one command, was only partly Austrian (kaiserlich) but for the rest Hungarian (königlich). So the little "und" is an emblem of Austria's condition which, like a tottering business-house, makes frantic efforts for a continuance of its existence by occasional concessions to impatient creditors.

Let us come back to Jewish theology, Some four years ago at the convention of the Union of American

Hebrew Congregations, one of the representatives assembled there was reported as having said: "The rabbis have to dance as we whistle." If this report be true, I consider it of great importance. While one man is not the union and the union is not Judaism, it clearly shows the prevalent views on the rabbi's position which I will illustrate by a comparison with one of Zechariah Frankel's letters addressed to the congregation of Teplitz, where he wished to take up his residence, having been appointed as "Kreisrabbiner." That the reader may understand the situation, I shall state that the government appointed the Kreisrabbiner for all the congregations of the Kreis, and he was at liberty to choose any congregation in the Kreis for his residence, but this congregation was not obliged to acknowledge the Kreisrabbiner as its local rabbi, although as a rule it was done. Frankel, having received his appointment as Kreisrabbiner from the government, addressed a letter to the board of trustees of the congregation of Teplitz, which was the largest in the Kreis, expressing his desire—not making an application—to take up his residence in Teplitz, if the congregation would elect him as Localrabbiner and give him a salary as such, which was later on fixed at 4fl. C. M. ($1.74) per week. The president of the congregation replies that he is quite happy over Frankel's desire to take up his residence in Teplitz and expresses the hope that the new rabbi would do away with some of the antiquated "Alfanzereijen." Frankel, instead of asking the president what he meant by "Alfanzereijen," administers to him a sound lecture

in which he professed not to know anything in Judaism which needed to be abolished, and if there was cause for a change, it was the rabbi's business and did not concern the board of trustees, at all.

Teplitz today is not one of the world's leading congregations, nor was it then. Frankel was then—in 1832—not a man of great weight, but still this correspondence throws a remarkable light on the difference which two generations have produced in the position of the rabbi. If a vacancy existed today in Teplitz, the applicant would have to moderate his language, and if he would not, he might be sure to receive a reply worded differently from that which Joachim Perutz sent to Frankel. (See the correspondence published in Brann's "Jüdischer Volkskalender für das Jahr. 1899" p. 109 ff.) And what is true of Teplitz is true of the situation of the rabbinate in the entire civilized world.

It is especially interesting to follow up the correspondence between Frankel and Muhr a leading member of the Berlin congregation, when the latter had elected Frankel as its rabbi. (1843). The congregation urged Frankel to accept the position and Frankel refused, because he wished a vocation by the government which the minister of public instruction refused to give. How different is the attitude of the present leaders in Judaism, when we read in *Allg. Zeitung des Judentums* an article published by Felix Makower and endorsed by an influential member of the Königsberg congregation in which the view is maintained that the rabbi should have no duties outside of the pulpit, that he must not be even consult-

ed on doctrinal questions as the German union of rabbis had demanded.

Felix Makower is not Berlin and Berlin is not Judaism, but the attitude of Makower in 1898 compared with that of Muhr in 1843 is a clear illustration of the development of Jewish history.

Some time ago I heard of a minister who had resigned his pulpit. Asking the president for the reason of the resignation, I learned that he resigned because "he stood no show for re-election." The president is a former cutter in a clothing house who, having become bodily disabled, changed his vocation for the loftier calling of a saloon-keeper. The educational standard of the president is that of the German "Schneidergesell." Contrast with that fact the other which I can prove from many documents, that fifty years ago no one thought of electing a rabbi for a limited term of years. I have seen *e. g.* the commission of Rabbi Abraham Placzek (1799-1884),[1] of Boskowitz dated about 1840. It is stated in it that the rabbi should enter upon the duties of his office on this and that day, and "may his days be an hundred and twenty years." Who would then have thought of limiting the appointment of the rabbi for a number of years and especially, as is done in the small congregations of America, for the mere pleasure of "kicking him out" and electing another victim at the end of the term?

Going somewhat further back in history we find other illustrations which are more striking. In 1706 R. Meshullam Zalman Mirels, rabbi of Altona, died in high old age. Having been an invalid for a

[1] Jew. Enc. X, 69.

number of years, Rabbi Mirels was substituted by his son-in-law, Zebi Ashkenazi. Everybody expected that the latter would succeed to the office, but there was an opposition from an influential family, one of whose members had a son-in-law, Moses Rothenburg, who was also a candidate. This opposition was strengthened by the accession to its ranks of Baer Cohen who was—what we would call today—the "boss" of the congregation of Altona. Baer Cohen was a very wealthy man, possessed some talmudical learning and—what in the days of the Jew-laws meant a great deal—a considerable influence with the municipal and royal authorities. This man was Zebi Ashkenazi's bitterest opponent because the latter had administered to him a severe rebuke, when he, out of revenge, had ruined a poor fellow's business through his political influence. The substitute rabbi sent for the nabob on the eve of Yom Kippur and threatened him with divine punishment, if he would persist in making such a use of his power. This humiliation Baer Cohen could never forgive and Zebi Ashkenazi was not elected as rabbi. But when in later years he visited Altona, the "boss" asked his forgiveness and again after Zebi Ashkenazi's death, Baer Cohen sent ten men to his grave in Lemberg to implore his soul for forgiveness, and when the dead rabbi's son, Jacob Emden, visited Altona, he was the guest of the nabob who wished to make amends for his sins against the father. (Megillat Sefer p. 23, ff.)

All these facts were and perhaps to some people still are petty local gossip. To me they appear in the light of important historical object lessons.

Would a man of Baer Cohen's station in our days be the host of a young man simply because the latter is the son and grandson of prominent rabbis? Would Hinrichsen who occupies a high municipal office in Hamburg today act towards rabbi Anschel Stern's sons in the same way Baer Cohen acted 150 years ago? And Baer Cohen, while not occupying an official position, was a more influential man than Hinrichsen today. He could free a man from prison, obtain for a protege a peddler's license which meant a man's livelihood and similar things which in our days of legal equality cannot be had. Hospitality extended to a rabbi was in the eighteenth century an honor to the wealthiest house. When in 1783 Nathan Adler of Frankfurt passed through Vienna, he with his "famulus" Moses Sofer, were guests in the house of Adam Arnstein, the prominent banker, and when the young zealot Sofer had made himself objectionable to Arnstein's daughter-in-law by giving her a severe lecture for having her hair dressed in modern fashion, and young Mrs. Arnstein peremptorily demanded the expulsion of these overbearing strangers, old Adam asked Nathan Adler's pardon with tears in his eyes.[2]

The role which the firm of Nathan Adam Arnstein played at the Vienna congress in 1815 was hardly more important than the position of the great commercial house of Samson Wertheimer, successor to Samuel Oppenheimer in the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Jewish merchant princes, like the princes on the thrones formed an exclusive aristocracy, kept up by intermarriage. One of Wertheimer's daughters was married to a son of the afore-named

[2] Sol. Schreiber חוט המשלש p. 5, b. Paks, 1886.

Baer Cohen, another to Berusch Eschkeles, the son of Gabriel Eschkeles, rabbi of Metz and later on of Nikolsburg, where he died in 1717, and where one of his descendants, Gabriel Böhm, is still living in high old age, one of the very, very few surviving attendants of the Beth-Hamidrash, while the Eschkeles family, later on associated with the Arnsteins in the banking business, was raised to the baronetcy, and long ago converted to the Catholic church.

It seems again a petty family affair, for who would call it a matter of history to note the matrimonial events in the Jewish bankers' families of our days? Still there is a great importance to be attached to these facts. Would a Samson Wertheimer of our days marry his daughter to a young man whose claims on such an aristocratic match rest on the sole basis that his father was rabbi of Metz and a descendant of a long line of rabbinical ancestors? This father invariably signs his name as Gabriel, son of Judah Loeb of Cracow, although his great grandfather was Hayim ben Bezalel of Worms, but Gabriel Eschkeles evidently considers it a greater honor to have been born in Cracow. Would he act in the same way, were he now living, and rabbi of one of our American congregations? Hardly! I only recently saw in two biographies of young American rabbis a very important historical lesson which is a counterpart to Gabriel Eschkeles' boast of Cracovian birth. Both these rabbis were born in Europe, perhaps not two thousand miles away from Cracow, but our Jewish press transferred the cradle of the one to New York, while of the other it circumlocutionally said that his

father had lived in Chicago. As an individual fact it may be of little or no consequence, how Gabriel Eschkeles signed his name, or where rabbi A. or B. was born, but as a good indication of the general tendencies of the age it is of a paramount importance that, what was a title of nobility in the eighteenth century, has become a by-word in the nineteenth. Similar is the case of the matrimonial schemes in Samson Wertheimer's family. In our days it is a distinction conferred on a rabbi or a Jewish scholar, if a wealthy banker takes notice of him. If he is present at the wedding of the rabbi's daughter or sends a wedding gift which is more than a veiled charity, he has condescended. In those days the rabbi conferred an honor on the banker by accepting his courtesies, and the banker was raised to a higher rank when the rabbi's son married his daughter, a fact which in our day would be a shocking mesalliance.

The greatest difference between the past and the present is seen in the fact that the rabbi sends for the wealtiest and most influential member of the congregation and gives him a lecture about his private conduct. If against that we hold the fact that in an American congregation the president will send for the rabbi occasionally, informing him that it was the wish of the board that the rabbi should preach shorter sermons or use more dignified language, we will see how such trivial affairs illustrate the great strides which we have made in an anti-hierarchical direction. And it is by no means necessary to go to America for the illustration of that change. Even

in Europe such a thing in our days would be an impossibility. The chief rabbis of London, Paris or Vienna would very likely be recommended to the attention of some psychiatric authority, if they were to send for one of the aristocratic members of the community and lecture him for the encouragement of betting on the races.

This is partly due to a cessation of the superstitious awe of the rabbi's magic powers, but—why should we deceive ourselves?—also to no small extent to the weakening of the religious sentiment. At all events it shows *en miniature* the historical development of Judaism.

DE MINIMIS CURAT HISTORICUS.*

YEARS ago, I published an essay under the same title, and if I do so again, the reason is that quite recently I was called a "chiffonier" (historical rag-picker) for quoting inconvenient though undeniable facts. French is an aristocratic language. When you wish to say something of which you are ashamed, you say it in French. Father Abraham, a Sancta Clara, the Catholic Billy Sunday of the 17th century, once said that in former years people used to call a wagon, wagon, a crook, crook, and a courtisane—he uses a harsher word—courtisane. Now they call a wagon a "karosse," a crook a "politicus," and a courtisane a "maitresse." "Now my dear politicus, take your karosse, place your courtisane by your side, and drive in it to the devil. Amen."

This is by the way. I shall not mention the place where this unkind remark was made about me, for my object is strictly scientific. I wish to avoid personalities and to impress even the lay reader with the importance of historic accuracy in details.

The general run of people look upon historic accuracy somewhat in the same light in which one would regard an expert bookkeeper to whom the head of the firm would say: "Look up for me the account of Henry Jones & Co.," and the bookkeeper without consulting his ledger would say: "We rendered him the last account on November 25 and he owed us

*The American Israelite, Feb. 3, 1916.

then $824.64." People would look upon such an achievement as a freak, harmless, but of no particular value, in fact rather a waste of mental energy.

Let us try to illustrate the case in point by a lesson from modern history. Joshua ben Solomon Loeb, rabbi of Lenczna, Poland, died April 26, 1873. As far as my knowledge goes he did not leave any published work nor did his life otherwise deserve any particular notice. One would consider it therefore absolutely immaterial whether Rabbi Joshua died in 1873 or in 1875. It so happened, however, that the question assumed considerable importance. During the height of the antisemitic movement in Austria the clerical Vienna daily, "Vaterland," May 11, 1893, published a statement signed by one Paulus Meyer, a converted Jew, who claimed to have been present at a ritual murder at which this rabbi Joshua officiated as priest. Paulus Meyer, originally David Leib Ashkenazi, the son of a Sofer, born about 1862, according to some in Brest Litovsk and according to others in Wlozlawek, was successively a Protestant and a Catholic, trying to make himself useful to anti-semites whom he furnished alleged abstracts from rabbinic literature. Having met with reverses, when he tried to prove ritual murder from literature, it was suggested in the clerical office that he furnish a real live up-to-date murder. He filled the order and gave such a vivid description, naming as the date 1875, as the place where it had occurred the town of Ostrov in the government of Lomzha, and naming all the participants, among them prominently this rabbi Joshua ben Solomon Loeb. Research was instituted and it was found that the rabbi

who in 1875 was supposed to have practiced the ancient rite of infant killing had died two years before, and so Paulus Meyer was sent to the penitentiary for eight months, and the editor of the "Vaterland" was fined for publishing this malicious libel. The date of the death of this otherwise insignificant rabbi, therefore, helped to refute one charge, in 1893, and is valuable evidence in all other cases of slander instigated by perverts.[1]

During an agitation for improvement in the condition of the Jews in Germany in the beginning of the 19th century, a series of pamphlets was published, none of which is of any lasting literary value. One of these pamphlets, published anonymously was written by a Jew from Koenigsberg, entitled "A Friendly Word for the Settlement of the Whole Controversy."[2] The author proposes something similar to what Armand Schreiber submitted in Harper's Weekly of January 8th. He proposes that the government enforce intermarriage between Jews and Christians, and that the Christians, being more enlightened than the Jews, should meet the latter by observing the Sabbath instead of Sunday as their weekly day of rest. The pamphlet was published in 1804. No one would consider it a matter of any consequence whether this ebullition of an unknown author was published a few years earlier or later. Heinrich von Treitschke in his history, discussing the effect of the Prussian law of March 11, 1812, quotes this pamphlet and the suggestion that the Christians

[1] Jewish papers of 1893 and 1894, esp. Mitteilungen . . . Antisemitismus, consult index.

[2] Graetz: Geschichte, XI, 263.

should accomodate themselves to the Jews as proof of the conceit of the Jews, due to their emancipation. The fact that this pamphlet was published eight years before their emancipation, at the time when the Jews of Prussia and especially those of Koenigsberg were subject to the most oppressive disabilities, when in Koenigsberg, for instance, the government would not allow a Jew to make a contract with the city for keeping an ice cream parlor in the municipal theater[3], surely shows that the author of the pamphlet had not lost his balance by the improvement in the condition of the Jews.[4] The exact date of an insignificant event, therefore, in this case has great significance.

Some time ago the present chief rabbi of London referred to the fact that three reform rabbis had converted to Christianity. He preferred not to give the exact number, because he probably had reason to fear the exact memory of those who remembered a previous statement of his that he could fill a book with the names of the disciples of Isaac M. Wise who had become converts to Christianity. The force of the argument was now to be a different one. It never had happened in Israel before—so his "Very Reverence" said—that a rabbi had become a convert to Christianity. I happen to be in possession of a pamphlet, issued by some missionary society, containing the biography of one Ignatz Lichtenstein, who was rabbi in Tapio Szele, Hungary, and had written pamphlets advocating conversion to Christianity while still officiating as rabbi. The statement was

[3] Freund: Die Emanzipation der preuss. Juden, 1, 89-100, Berlin, 1912.

[4] H. M. C. (Heinrich Meyer Cohn) in Allg. Zeitg. des Judt., 1902, p. 360-380.

declared by somebody who had reason to hide himself behind the cover of anonymity, an invention. My pamphlet, a very insignificant production, rehashing the usual missionary cant, becomes important in addition to my quotations from various Jewish papers, representing all shades of religious views. In the course of my investigation I came across the fact that this Ignatz Lichtenstein was confounded with a Jehiel Lichtenstein, a former "Wunderrabbi" of Besarabia, who was in the service of the missionary institute of Leipsic, where he died in 1912. We already had two rabbis to refute a statement made by a man upon whose office the world has a right to look as an authority. While it is really of no significance whether a Jew trained in Orthodox environment and possessing rabbinical knowledge does officiate as rabbi or not, it certainly added force to my arguments that a rabbi, Lewin Fraenkel, a nephew of Chief Rabbi Solomon Herschel of London, having been previously rabbi in Dubienka, and Land-rabbiner of Silesia, became a convert to Roman Catholicism. The man was never of any consequence, but his case becomes an irrefutable argument against the malicious statement that liberal Judaism means a step towards apostacy.[5]

The examples could be endlessly multiplied. The platform on which the leaders of the reform movement in America agreed in 1855 at the conference of Cleveland was certainly different from the one which was presented by some of those surviving in 1895. In 1855 the authority of rabbinic Judaism, while not

[5] See on the controversy my letter in Jewish Chronicle, June 2, 1911.

declared infallible, was maintained.[6] In 1895 it was denied unconditionally.[7] It would require but little effort to prove a similar departure during a shorter period. There is no charge of inconsistency in this statement, for history is the record of inconsistencies, and the exactness of minute facts is indispensable to true history.

[6] Philipson: The Reform Movement in Judaism, p. 487-488, New York, 1907.

[7] Yearbook, Central Conference of American Rabbis, V, 52, Cincinnati, 1896.

EVERYBODY SAYS SO.*

JACOB EMDEN, born in Altona, June 15, 1696, where he died April 19, 1776, is one of my favorite characters in Jewish history. He was a great scholar, possessed a critical nind, a historical sense which was extremely rare in those days; he was a man of genuine piety, passionate like all men of genius, too sincere to make many friends, and, in consequence, not very successful. Of the many anecdotes told of him, one is especially characteristic. When the old rabbi of Altona, Ezekiel Katzenelnbogen, of whom Emden did not think very highly, died, July 19, 1749, the congregation had an eye on Jonathan Eybeschütz, then rabbi of Metz. The son of the late rabbi was charged with the mission of sounding Jacob Emden, He called on him, and after a few introductory remarks, he began:

"Have you heard that the congregation is very much in favor of extending a call to the rabbi of Metz?"

Emden answered with a sort of growl.

"Well," began the visitor again, "he is reported to be a great Talmudist."

This roused Emden. "How do you know?" said he.

"Well," replied Katzenelnbogen, "everybody says so."

"Oh, if you have no better source," said Emden, "you know nothing. Why, didn't everybody say your father was a great Talmudist, and it was not true?"

*Jewish Comment, Oct. 19, 1900.

I doubt the historical truth of this, as I doubt almost every good anecdote, but nevertheless there is a great deal of historical truth in it. It is a fact, people will say, and when you ask them, "How do you know?" they will say: "Why, everybody says so; I have heard it; it was in the paper," and so forth. But people who take a deeper interest in historical matters know that things are by no means a fact because people say so or because they read them in the paper.

A very small matter shall introduce us into a series of such facts. In Dr. Wise's biography, Cincinnati, 1900, p. 112, it is stated that he was buried on the 26th of March, while he was buried March 29. Suppose some one would read that he preached a sermon on March 24, and that he was buried three days after his death, he would be puzzled by the impossibility of this contemporary and supposedly reliable testimony The printer's devil will invert a 9 and make a 6 of it, or a slip of the pen caused the whole confusion, which in cases of remote antiquity, like in deciphering cuneiform inscription, might go into the centuries.

Another small matter: In I. T. Eisenstadt's "Daat Kedoshim," St. Petersburg, 1897-98, which is a very valuable history of famous Jewish families from the seventeenth century down to our time, it is stated (p. 127) that Samuel Landau, acting chief rabbi of Prague, died Tishri 28, 5598, (October 27, 1837). According to my notes he died in 1834. Investigating the matter with the meager resources furnished by our library, I find that, according to Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums, 1838, p. 152, Landau's

successor, Samuel Loeb Kauder, died May 6, 1838. after having been four years in office. This notice hardly admits of any doubt, and therefore I suppose that a misprint caused the change of a ה into a ח, and Samuel Landau died Tishri 28, 5595, (October 31, 1834). I shall grant without a moment's hesitation that our telegraph, telephone and railroad systems would not have been in the least affected had the good "Oberjurist"—as they called the chief rabbi—of Prague been spared to us three more years. The trial for ritual murder in Kuttenberg would have taken the same course, and Zangwill's "Children of the Ghetto" would not have been more of a success. Still there might be some difference in Jewish history. April 19, 1837, on the birthday of Ferdinand I, the dedication of the temple for improved service (Tempel für geregelten Gottesdienst) took place in Prague in the presence of all the State's dignitaries. Suppose one were to study the newspaper reports of this event and would miss amongst the guests the name of Samuel Landau, would he not reason thus: The man was living; this is proven by Eisenstadt. Had old age or sickness prevented him from attending the services, some one would have alluded to the fact. Why, then, is just his name missing? No doubt, the man was a fanatic. He considered a deviation from ritualistic tradition, and were it merely the abandonment of the auction of Mizwot, a mortal sin. Our historian would write it down. The next historian would write a general history of modern Judaism, and would say: While radicals desired to change the synagogue at once into a sort

of theistic church, the more conservative element understood that progress can only be made by slow steps, and not by leaps. They limited their reforms to an endeavor to make the services decorous. Still some fanatics would not even tolerate that. One of the worst types of that kind was Samuel Landau, the rabbi of Prague. Even the danger of incurring the illwill of the government could not induce him to set his foot on the threshold of a synagogue where the Shammes was not permitted to call out: "Eighteen Groschen for the Kohen! Zum ersten, zum zweiten, zum dritten Mol!" Quite a number of assertions in our older history rest on no firmer basis.

We shall pass over to a matter which is a little more important. In Flathe's "Zeitalter der Restauration und Revolution," which forms part of the gigantic universal history by Oncken, we read a description of the condition in the Papal State under Gregory XVI, which the author sums up with the statement: "The reactionary spirit went so far that the Inquisition gave order to take the Jewish boy Mortara from the house of his parents in 1846 under the plea that he had been baptized by a servant girl" (l. c., p. 478). This act, however, took place in 1858. It was not, as Flathe represents it, one of the causes which led to the revolution against ecclesiastic tyranny in 1848, but rather the reverse. It was a challenge of the Pope, restored to his throne, to the civilized world which demanded a slow reform of mediaevalism.

One more instance from Dr. Wise's biography shall form the climax: On p. 6 of the book a touching story is told—how Rabbi Aaron Kornfeld[1] of Jenikau,

[1] Jew. Enc. VII, 562.

when in 1837 an edict was issued which demanded that every Austrian rabbi should be educated in gymnasium and university, sat down on the floor and acted as though mourning for some great affliction. The venerable rabbi felt that this law "dealt the deathblow to his yeshibah."

This touching story has many facts of history against it. The Austrian law, which demands of a rabbi to have passed through a gymnasium, dates from March 21, 1890. The law, however, which required that a rabbi should have made philosophical studies is found in the "Judenpatent" for Bohemia, dated August 3, 1797. (Wolf, "Studien zur Jubelfeier der Wiener Universitaet," p. 123), and was later on, January 29, 1820, extended to include the whole empire (Wertheimer, "Jahrbuch," 1858, p. 86). Its tangible result was the rabbinical seminary in Padua, opened November 10, 1829. The "venerable" Rabbi Aaron Kornfeld, who died October 26, 1881, was in 1837 forty-two years of age. A rabbi with a college education was not a thing so unheard of in Bohemia in 1837, for Zechariah Frankel had been rabbi in Teplitz since 1832. The only fact which probably is the kernel of this story is a government's edict issued July 7, 1836, demanding that in Galicia this law should be enforced and that district rabbis be appointed by the government.

1815 TO 1915.*

A CENTURY is a longer period of time than we usually imagine. Of this the clearest idea is obtained when we understand that a century ago our great grandfathers, were about of the same age as we are now, and when we further consider that our memory never reaches back to a clear recollection of our great-grandfathers, or that the majority of people hardly know their great-grandfathers by name.

Just one hundred years ago Europe was in a condition as critical as that in which it is now. On March 1, 1815, Napoleon landed at Cannes. On the 10th of the same month he was greeted by the people of Paris with the same enthusiasm that had greeted him before his downfall. While the great hero of battle was in this way regaining his former position, the allies held their conference at Vienna. They had a very good time, dinners, balls, outings, and Napoleon's interruption of this beautiful time was naturally very strongly resented. While preparations for the decisive battle on the territory of Belgium, which a hundred years later was again destined to become the great battlefield of Europe, were going on, the congress finished its labors, issuing its act of June, the 8, 1915. The conditions of the Jews had come up for very serious consideration. During the time of French ascendency territorial changes had so frequently taken place that the condition of the Jews was

*The American Israelite, July 22, 1915.

considerably affected. A great part of the territory occupied by the French during the revolutionary period had either laws discriminating against the Jews or such which kept the Jews out entirely. During the French period all these laws were abrogated, and the principle proclaimed by the revolutionary government, in 1791, which gave to the Jews complete civic and political equality, was proclaimed in these territories. What was now to be done? This was a serious question. One instance may make it clear. The city of Cologne was the residence of the archbishop and formed his territory, over which he was at the same time secular ruler. In the rural districts of his territory the Jews were permitted to live under the usual restrictions that had come down from the middle ages and had been modified only in minor points. How far reaching this was the following incident will make clear. The ancestor of the Oppenheim family, which later on was raised to the baronetcy, and which for the past two or three generations has been Christian, came regularly to Cologne on business. The law stipulated that each time he arrived at the city he was required to report at police headquarters, where a policeman was assigned to accompany and to watch him as long as he was in the city. As a special favor to so prominent a business man, it was permitted that the policeman instead of accompanying him from the police station should meet him at the house of a friend, where he made his headquarters, and stay there, under the supposition that he had watched him. In the year 1798 Cologne became French territory, and a short time thereafter the first Jew

settled there. Others soon followed and a congregation was formed which is now one of the leading congregations of Germany. In the course of the territorial changes Cologne became Prussian and naturally the Jews, while not enjoying complete freedom, possessed at least the freedom of residence, and this remained unaltered, though their political rights, guaranteed to them under the French constitution, were not recognized by the new government. The most serious problem was that of the so called free cities. Germany had quite a number of city republics, i. e., municipalities, possessing the right of other sovereign German states. Of these the city of Frankfort had the greatest importance for the Jews. It contained about 4,000 Jewish inhabitants, who lived in a ghetto which consisted of one narrow street. It is simply incomprehensible how they managed to live and how in spite of the many restrictions imposed on their activity they managed to make a livelihood. As a clear illustration of the conditions under which they lived, the following story will serve: Elias Loeb Reis was a broker to the Duke of Weimar, and as such had business there. At one time it was necessary for him to leave the city on Sunday in order to obey a summons of the Duke. The Frankfort law, however, required that Jews remain in the ghetto every Sunday, living there in a regular stockade. Goethe, who was minister of the Duke of Weimar, and a native of Frankfort, wrote to his uncle, who was a member of the Board of Aldermen, a special request that he obtain a special permission for Reis to leave the ghetto on Sunday. But even this powerful protection was not

enough to obtain an exception in such a case. Another case: The Jews asked for permission to go out on Sunday to enjoy a walk in the fresh air, as the conditions in the ghetto were quite oppressive. The Senate, to whom this petition was directed, declined it with the statement that this demand showed the impudence of the Jews and their desire to shake off the mild yoke which Christianity had imposed upon them. Napoleon had made of Frankfort and the surrounding territory a Grandduchy over which he placed Baron von Dalberg, member of one of the most respected German families and a liberal Catholic priest, who in those days had the courage to join the Masonic fraternity. Dalberg, entering upon his duties in 1807, decreed that the Jews had the right to take a walk in the park, a privilege, which had formerly been denied them. Goethe's mother was quite indignant at the prospect that any Jew might sit next to her on a bench in the park. Four years later the Jews of Frankfort received their full civic and political equality, for which they had to pay the sum of 400,000 florins, as compensation for their former special tax. One would imagine that this was a plain contract which bound both parties. As soon, however as the French government had been superseded by the old autonomous city administration, there began an agitation to withdraw from the Jews their rights obtained by public contract. Article sixteen of the act of 1815 had clearly stated that the Jews should retain the rights they had received under the various governments which had succeeded each other during the Napoleonic period, but there was always a

way out of it. First in the course of the debate the representatives of the cities offered an amendment to the resolution which stated that the Jews should be kept in the enjoyment of the rights which they had received in the respective states. The amendment was that instead of "in" the respective states, it should be "from the respective states." by which was intended to prove that Jews had no other rights which they could claim except those which they had obtained from the so-called "legitimate" government, but not from the various governments that might have owed their origin to foreign conquest. The senate of Frankfort at once showed its spirit by passing a resolution which declared that it was the duty of every state to so arrange the laws and conditions regulating the affairs of the Jews, that the Christian citizens could make a livelihood. One will easily understand what this means, in the light of subsequent legislation which, for instance, prohibited the Jews from dealing in lumber, from dealing in flour, from dealing in certain goods at wholesale and other goods at retail, according to the well approved principle which we find in the deal between Jacob and Laban, as was the case when Laban observing that Jacob became prosper, ous by the increase of one kind of sheep, he interpreted and amended the former agreement to suit his own convenience.

Still more decided was the opposition of the city of Luebeck, which was, like Frankfort, a free city, and in middle ages like most cities possessing autonomous rights, kept the Jews out. The philosophy of history, however, expressed by an old rabbi in the Talmud

(Sanhedrin 87, b), obtains in this case also. The territory of Luebeck was small, and was contiguous to the territory of Denmark. Under the Danish king the Jews had obtained a foothold there during the seventeenth century. They, therefore, would obtain under the treaties existing between the king of Denmark and the city of Luebeck the right to travel and trade there. The city consequently found it more advantageous to have the Jews under its own jurisdiction and therefore bought from the king of Denmark the small village of Moisling, about five miles from Luebeck, and allowed the Jews to settle there, who were now permitted to come to the city for the day and attend to their business. During the French time, which began in 1811, the Jews were permitted to settle in Luebeck proper and remain there in spite of the protest of the citizens, until the congress of Vienna had finished its labors. Under the often quoted provision of Article 16 the Jews should have been permitted to continue to reside in Luebeck, but the city interpreted this provision differently, declaring that the French government was not a regularly constituted government, and whatever right might have been given by this government to the Jews was not binding upon the legitimate government that had come into power again. In spite of all protests of the Jews who brought the matter before the congress at Vienna and who had the Frankfort banker, Jacob Baruch, the father of Ludwig Boerne, employed as their agent, they were actually compelled to leave the city and return to their ghetto village a few years later.

It would be tedious to follow all the ramifications of the legal tyranny that fills the Jewish history of

the next decade. One state, like Bavaria, or Saxe Weimar would insist that the Jews become Germanized, that they read their services in German or that the marriage contract, read at a wedding ceremony, be read in German, while other states, like Prussia, followed the exactly opposite course. They demanded that the Jews remain Jews as long as they are Jews, and that not the slightest deviation from traditional practices in the synagog service be permitted. In one respect they were all of one mind. They all insisted that the Jews should be kept in a state of restriction, as far as their civic rights were concerned. Of political rights, of course, there was no question, unless we except the case of Baden, where a Jew Sigmund Zimmern, was admitted as privatdozent of law at the University of Heidelberg in 1818. However, he soon became aware that he had no chance of being appointed professor, and he removed that obstacle in his path by converting to Christianity. The Grand Duchy of Baden had already a few years previously granted the Jews the right of citizens (Staatsbuerger), but the fact that they were not "Gemeindebuerger" proved that the whole concession was a matter of mere theory. Similar was the case in Hesse Cassel, where the law, issued in 1823 emancipated the Jews, but even there so many restrictions were attached to this principle that it was a mere fiction. Nor were the conditions outside of Germany much better. Switzerland, a republic, had severer restrictions on the Jews than almost any of the states of Germany. The only place where they were legally permitted to reside was the canton of

Aargau, and even there they were limited to two villages. Their right do do business on a credit basis, to peddle, to deal in cattle to attend the fairs, was in every respect curtailed by all sorts of intricate restrictions. In England their condition was fairly tolerable, but as they were excluded from political rights and as many civic rights, for instance the opening of a shop in the city of London, were dependent on political rights, they were restricted in civic rights also. The only exception was found in France where the law of 1791 giving to the Jews full civic and political equality, was maintained even under the reactionary Bourbon government and under the government of the Orleans family which followed.

The year 1830 made a considerable difference. The Revolution in France had at once the effect of causing the petty tyrants of Europe to realize that the settlement of affairs through the congress of Vienna in 1815 was by no means final. It became necessary to make concessions to the modern spirit of the age which demanded a Parliamentary form of government and greater freedom in expression of political opinions by the masses. These principles could not be enacted without reacting in some way on the condition of the Jews, and so in various smaller states the condition of the Jews came up for discussion. Especially was this the case in the Grandduchy of Baden where the principle was expressed that, while the Jews deserved better conditions, these could not be granted unless they receded from their position in religious questions like Sabbath, circumcision and especially in their belief in the Messiah who would

lead them back to Palestine, all of which was so contrary to the demand for equal rights in the state in which they lived that it would be necessary to remove these obstacles before other questions could be considered. The events of the year 1848, beginning with another revolution in France, made an end of all this quibbling. The small potentates of Europe considering the dire chance of a fate similar to that of Louis XVI, or at least of Louis Philippe of France, granted at once a constitution. One part of the constitution was that there should be no impediment in the way of obtaining full rights of citizenship for everyone, regardless of religious affiliation, and this in almost every case meant the Jews. Independently we see at the same time political conditions in England progress favorably. The emancipation act of 1829, which gave to Roman Catholics and dissenters full freedom, brought up the question of the Jews for discussion and in the typical English way the progress was slow, though marked. The events of 1848 did not directly influence English affairs, but at the same time Jews had already obtained the right to hold certain municipal offices and had started the movement for obtaining the right of representation in Parliament.

In continental Europe, reaction was soon encouraged when the storms of 1848 had passed away and a number of the patriots had either gone to prison or had preferred to seek new homes across the ocean. A judge had to swear the parties that appeared before him. The oath had not been changed by the constitution. The old code of civil laws remained as

before, and this code prescribed an oath which had a distinctly Christian text. It was therefore argued, that inasmuch as in most instances the Jew, as judge, would have to swear Christian parties and would consequently have to read to them a Christian oath, this would appear to the parties such a mockery that the whole idea of obtaining the truth through religious sentiment would be rather counteracted. The constitution gave the Jew the right to obtain a position in the public school. The school law, which had not been altered by the constitution, said that the schools had to be conducted in a Christian spirit. Naturally a Jewish teacher was precluded from participating in this work of education. In Italy, which was split up into a number of small states, the old reactionary conditions prevailed. They were strongest in the Papal States, where the Jews were kept in the ghetto and subjected to the most ignominious disabilities. From the kingdom of Naples they remained practically excluded, although in the city of Naples, owing to the presence of a member of the Rothschild family, some of these laws were disregarded. In the kingdom of Sardinia, whether due to principles of the government or to a fear that favorable treatment of the Jews would estrange the Italian people from the idea of looking to the house of Savoy as the only native dynasty, destined to become the head of a united Italy, restrictions remained. From Spain the Jews still remained excluded, but the prohibition seems to have been a mere theory. The small number of Jews in Portugal, still suffering under great restrictions, also would not excite any particular

interest. Holland retained the freedom given to the Jews during the French rule in 1796, but the great masses of the Jews were so estranged from public life that they did not care for political rights. In Belgium, where Jews had begun to settle in considerable numbers only after 1830, the question was of no significance. Of the Scandinavian countries, Denmark had given the Jews full political freedom in 1848, while Sweden kept them under restrictions and Norway did not admit them even as temporary residents prior to 1851. The year 1860 in which was created the kingdom of Italy brought a change for the better. Prussia began to admit the Jews to public office, Bavaria in 1861 abolished the disgraceful "Matrikel" law—which means restrictions on marriages —Austria abolished all restrictions on civic and political rights in 1867, Sweden followed in 1871 and, strange to say, in 1878 Switzerland, the republic, removed the last restrictions existing in the canton of Aargau. Russia and Roumania remain the plague spots on Jewish history. In both countries the year 1878, which marked the complete victory of Jewish claim on justice in western Europe, marked as far as Russia and especially Roumania are concerned, a return to almost mediaeval barbarism, and in Russia, practically to a condition which finds its equal only in the time of the Crusades. Let us hope that the year 1915 will see the end of the present gigantic battle between nations and may also be as epoch making for an improvement of the condition of our brethern in Europe as the year 1815 which marked, in spite of occasional retardation, the new era for the Jews of the European Occident.

The change of political conditions is also marked by a decided change in the intellectual life of the Jews. This change did not come as suddenly as the political emancipation. No legislation can produce such a marked change in spiritual life as it can in economic or political situations. Up to the end of the eighteenth century secular education was exceedingly rare among the Jews, with the exceptions of the Italian Jews and a few cultured Spanish and Portuguese congregations of western Europe, such as London, Amsterdam, and Hamburg. Amongst German, Polish, and Oriental Jews secular education was absolutely unknown. Very few exceptions are found in the case of physicians. The practice of medicine was, one might say, almost a monopoly among the Jews. At any rate Jews had practiced medicine all through mediaeval times and were extremely popular as practioners, as can be seen from the effort made by their Christian competitors to have them excluded from or restricted in the practice of medicine. In earlier times it seems that Jews acquired the knowledge of medicine simply by practising under an experienced physician. From the 16th century on we find a great number of Polish and German Jews going to Italy, preferably to Padua, to study there. Since the middle of the eighteenth century we find them in constantly growing numbers as students of medicine in German universities. As the universities were autonomous, there was no state law regulating admission to the courses, but it depended entirely on the faculty of a university whether they were willing to admit a student or not. With the growing spirit of toleration,

due to the Rousseau school, this admission of Jews became more and more common. These men, however, seemed to consider the study of medicine simply as acquisition of knowledge, such as was necessary for business life. As a cultural study nobody yet believed in acquiring a university education

The broadening tendencies of Berlin society under Frederick the Great, though he was by no means sympathetic to the Jews, had a favorable influence on the development of Jewish life. As early as 1761, Veitel Heine Ephraim and Daniel Itzig, two prominent business men of Berlin, asked the government for the right to open a Jewish primary school in Berlin. The right was obtained, but the project never assumed any practical shape for reasons that nobody seems to know. Ephraim was a prominent banker and an ancestor of the novelist and Egyptologist, George Ebers. Daniel Itzig, could, if he returned to earth today, find among his descendants a number of barons and counts and prominent scientists, such as the alienist Hitzig of Halle. It may be that the opposition to the cultural movement by the leading rabbis of that period had a considerable influence on the descendants of these people in making them turn away from a religion which to them was absolutely identical with opposition to culture. For the opposition to secular learning we find a number of important proofs in the rabinical literature of that time. Herz Homberg, born in a suburb of Prague in 1759, subsequently tutor in Moses Mendelssohn's family and superintendent of the Jewish schools in Galicia, tells us that when he was seventeen years old he did not

know even the German or Latin alphabet, though he was considered quite a proficient Talmudic scholar. He began to acquire the knowledge of reading and writing German while a student at the Yeshibah at Glogau, but he had to do it clandestinely for otherwise he would have forfeited his support, which consisted, as was the case in all Yeshibahs, in free meals given to him by the members of the congregation. In 1787 the scheme of opening a secular primary school for Jewish children was carried out successfully in Berlin. Rabbinical opposition was strong enough to militate against David Friedländer, the son-in-law of Daniel Itzig, and his brother-in-law Isaac Daniel Itzig, the two leaders of the Berlin congregation. More influential evidently, or perhaps more strongly supported by the leading element of the congregation was the rabbi of Frankfurt am Main, Phineas Horowitz. When a number of public spirited citizens began a movement for the opening of a secular school in 1794, the rabbi pronounced an excommunication against anyone who would aid or abet in such a heretical design, and he carried his point, although the senate of Frankfort prohibited the pronunciation of such a ban, and the rabbi was compelled, at least officially to retract it.

This suggests a favorite topic of mine namely the insistence on exactness in chronological dates. In 1794 the rabbi of Frankfort successfully opposed the opening of a secular school. In 1804 such a school was opened and the rabbi did not dare utter any objections. Another instance will give us a similar illustration of the development of intellectual life.

When Moses Mendelssohn published his Pentateuch translation in 1783, a number of leading rabbis opposed this as an anti-religious, heretical work. Among those who opposed it most vehemently was the same Phineas Horwitz, rabbi of Frankfurt am Main. Just twenty years later, Wolf Heidenheim published a translation of the holyday ritual with a Hebrew commentary. He, therefore, did actually the same thing that Moses Mendelssohn had done, but while Moses Mendelssohn was severely denounced by the rabbi of Frankfurt am Main, Heidenheim was not merely tolerated but indorsed for doing a noble religious act. This difference in treatment was simply due to the change of sentiment in twenty years. This change becomes more manifest when we look upon the attitude of the rabbis who followed the generation of Phineas Horwitz and held office during the nineteenth century. Prominent amongst them is Akiba Eger (1761-1837). While he was chief rabbi of the important congregation of Posen, the government of Prussia, in 1825, issued an order that every congregation must have a secular school. The leading rabbis protested, Akiba Eger among them, but their protest was of a mild nature. They no longer had any objection to secular instruction, as long as it would be restricted to a few hours in the afternoon. How important this move on the part of a progressive government was, a single instance will suffice to illustrate. In 1808 Napoleon issued a law on the condition of the Jews which among others demanded that every Jew report to the authorities the regular family name he would adopt. In

Reichshofen, Alsace, thirty-seven men and forty-seven women reported. Of the thirty-seven men only eleven could sign their names in Latin characters, while the others had to sign in Hebrew. Of the forty-seven women only six could sign their names in Hebrew characters, the rest could not sign their names at all.

Educational institutions made rapid progress. They were founded in all important cities, as in Prague in 1782, in Breslau in 1791, in Dessau in 1799, and soon a goodly number of institutions of higher learning followed, prominent among them the Jacobsonschule in Seesen, established in 1801 and endowed by the philanthropist Israel Jacobson who also founded a similar institution in Wolfenbuettel, using funds which some years previously had been bequeathed by members of his family for the purpose of maintaining rabbis who should devote all their time to the study of the Talmud. Influential with the Duke of Brunswick, Jacobson obtained from him who naturally was favorable to the secular education of the Jews, the right to use these funds for different purposes. Similar institutions were soon established in Frankfurt am Main, in Hamburg, Halberstadt, and Hanover. The most important move, however, was the establishing of secular schools in the heart of Poland, right in the center of obscurantism, in Brody and Tarnopol, in 1815. The moving spirit in the latter city which then was under Russian control, just as it has been during this year, was Joseph Perl, well known in literature as the author of a brilliant satire on Hasidism, entitled, "The Revealer of Secrets,"

and modeled after the famous "Letters of Obscure Men." In this way it is seen how the progressive ideas of western Europe influenced the condition of the Jews in the east of Europe, although it took very long to bring the light to these countries and, in fact, even to this day it is only a minority of the population which accepts secular education as necessary and consistent with Jewish ideas.

The last word on the political emancipation of the Jews of Western Europe was practically spoken on the battlefield of Waterloo in 1815. A century has passed and another serious battle is fought which is bound to have a lasting if not decisive influence on the future development of the world. None of our contemporaries can reasonably expect that he will be able to review the events of another century, nor can one now past middle age expect to even prognosticate the effect which the present terrible crisis will have on the world for the next fifty years. But the younger men of the present generation, those who are now students of Jewish history will, let us hope, be privileged to see our optimistic expectations realized.

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF.*

THERE is only one way to understand the past. You must approach its study with the conviction that, taken as a whole, people in olden times were neither better nor worse than they are today. The chief motives of human actions, viz.: ambition and indifference, hatred and love, envy and conceit, craft and stupidity, asceticism and gluttony, vanity and modesty, etc., always existed and will continue to exist:

> "Willst du dich selber erkennen,
> Sieh', wie die Anderen es treiben;
> Willst du die Anderen verstehen,
> Blick' in dein eigenes Herz."

I am almost sure that the existence of this Journal will, in some quarters, be commented on very severely. I doubt not that some will say, "You must till the ground before you can hope to reap its product." I have no desire to express my opinion on this subject, for I am well aware that there are two sides to the question. Early writing may really have the effect of making the writer liable to a life-long immaturity, but it, on the other hand, trains a man to be careful of what he utters, for he knows it is one thing to make a statement in the pulpit, when hardly one out of a hundred will take notice of such a small detail as a misquoted biblical passage, and even this one will forget it by and by, and quite another thing to have such a quotation "engraved with an iron pen and lead

*H. U. C. Journal, Vol. I, pages 31-34, November, 1896.

in the rock forever," though the rock be only a monthly journal.

So I leave the decision open, but I know that such a charge is no new thing. In those good old times when there was not the slightest apprehension that a rabbi would study homiletics or receive instruction in elocution that he would lecture on bimetallism, on Tom Crogan, or Brahma-Somaj, and similar topics of the day, in those times when lectures were not printed in weekly pamphlets, when no paper with the largest circulation in the North or in the South, in the East or in the West, was ready to publish Rabbi Schreihals' latest pulpit effort, with the editorial assurance that the reading public of the whole world had never before been treated to such marvellous intellectual hash—even in those good old times we occasionally meet with complaints about immature literary productions.

Rabbi Jacob Joshua (died 1756), rabbi in Frankfort on the Main and previously in Metz and Berlin, one of the greatest Talmudic scholars of the eighteenth century, still known as one of the typical representatives of rabbinical scholasticism through his work "Pene Jehoshua," complains in the preface to the first volume of this work, published in Amsterdam, 1739, that in his age every boy publishes books, although he would need years of preparation before he would become sufficiently qualified for self instruction, not to speak of the instruction of others. Rabbi Joshua was at that time a man of nearly sixty years and it is quite natural that he should have regarded a man of fifty as somewhat immature and a man of forty as a

boy. It is not very long ago that I heard a minister make the statement that it takes twenty years' experience in the pulpit for one to discover what pulpit work really meant. I inquired how long this gentleman had been in the pulpit, and I found that just a week previously he had celebrated the twentieth anniversary of his career. Had I met him five years before, I am quite sure he would have considered fifteen years as the exact time of probation. Interesting was the circumstance that I met the same gentleman in the company of an older member of the profession, a man who had almost reached the three-score-and-ten, and this latter addressed the former in quite a paternal tone: "My young friend, take my advice, you are a young man yet," etc.

This is exactly what happened in the time of Rabbi Jacob Joshua. I have no doubt but that Rabbi Joshua may have referred to such rising stars as his successor, Rabbi Phineas Horwitz, the author of Hafla-ah, (died 1805), while his predecessor, Rabbi Jacob Poppers from Prague, (died 1740) may have felt just the same about Rabbi Joshua. At least Poppers' contemporary, compatriot and namesake, R. Jacob Reischer, of Metz (died 1733) predicts early death to those who impatiently push themselves forward to occupy the places of older men, and maintains that accordingly, such a young man was called in the Talmud a foetus. And, really, the Talmudic passage to which Riesser refers seems to indicate the same views. Rab, the religious leader of Babylonian Judaism in the third century, explains the Scriptural passage, "for she hath cast down many wounded, yea,

all her slain are a mighty host," (Prov. VII, 26) to mean: A rabbi who teaches before he has reached his maturity (Sotah 22, a.). Conditions in Sura in the third century were not different from those in Frankfort in the eighteenth.

So we see that the old Talmudic homilies are true not only psychologically but even historically, or we may say they are true historically because they are true homiletically. An anonymous author in the Talmud says that Nadab and Abihu were punished because when they saw Moses and Aaron at the head of a great multitude they said: "Would that these old men died and we were the leaders of the people." Therefore God said: "Wait and we shall see who shall bury who" (Synhedrin 52, a.). This little homily is not dated, but it is safe to assume that it was written in Palestine not later than the fourth century, for the Babylonian Rabbi Papa (president of the College of Nares, 352-375) comments on it, quoting as Babylonian adage: "There are plenty of old camels which are loaded with the hides of young ones." Evidently there were some young camels at the College of Nares anxious to step into the shoes of the old ones. But we are safe in assuming that at the time of Aaron and Moses there were indeed some young men who thought it quite timely for these old fogies to retire, while the latter thought that the age could not yet spare them.

Last summer, while in Europe, I met an old friend, a rabbi, who said: "It is quite remarkable that, in spite of our rabbinical seminaries, this age does not produce any preachers." My friend is sixty-one, just

about the age of Rabbi Jacob Joshua when he published the first part of "Pene Jehoshua." I suppose this was the age of Rabbi Papa when he quoted the Babylonian adage of the old camels and the young, and this may have been the age of the Palestinian Rabbi, who drew up before his audience a picture of Nadab and Abihu impatiently awaiting the death of Moses and Aaron. Maybe it was this very same rabbi who characterizes the age of King David in the following words: "There never existed a worse set of scorners than those who lived in the time of David. What do you think those people did? They knocked at David's window and asked: "Say when will the temple be built?" (Yer. Berakhot 4, b.) So these scorners took advantage of their knowledge of the prophecy of Nathan, who had said that the temple would not be built in the time of David, suggesting to the old King that it was about time for him to retire to his fathers. This same homily is found, with slight changes, in the Babylonian Talmud (Makkot 10, b). There the scoffers are quoted as having said: "When will this old fellow die and his son Solomon succeed to the throne so that the temple may be built and all enjoy a modern holyday service!" In the Babylonian Talmud this homily is ascribed to Rabbi Joshua ben Levi. It would be easy to prove by the methods of modern Biblical critics that he is the author of the passage in Yerushalmi, for in both places the temple is called the house of divine choice. (Beth Habehirah), and furthermore the people in both instances begin with the words: "When shall die....." These same words in Synhedrin are ascribed to Nadab

and Abihu. Consequently Rabbi Joshua ben Levi is also the author of this Pisqa. Quod erat demonstrandum.

But this is immaterial. It is more important that King David is always quoted to have replied to the scorners: "I am glad, when they say unto me, let us go unto the house of the Lord" (Ps. 122, 1.) Rabbi Joshua ben Levi was the son of a declining age, somewhat like Phineas Horwitz, or the latter's son and successor, Zebi Hirsch (died 1815.) The great time of the Tannaim, during which he had attained the age of manhood, had passed, and they remained like erratic stones, in surroundings to which they were strange and in which they were not understood. New men had arisen, the Amoraim, who knew all the old generation had known and a good deal more that was of interest to the younger generation, just as people in Frankfort at the beginning of this century preferred Mendelssohn's Phaedon or Wessely's epic to the study of Rabbi Horwitz's scholastic work. Phineas Horwitz felt very bitter about it, but Rabbi Joshua ben Levi consoled himself with the example of David who, when people revelled in the thought of the new era, of a magnificent temple and splendid choir performances and beautifully worded fervent prayers, said: "I am glad when they say unto me, let us go unto the house of the Lord."

I am a contemporary of Graetz, Frankel, Geiger, Joel and Jellinek, and I have seen some of the rabbis of the old school, such as were those who were taught by Phineas Horwitz. I lived in the city where Phineas' older brother and revered teacher had officiated

as rabbi (Rabbi Shmelke, died in Nikolsburg 1778). I still heard the vivid traditions about this saint's greatness. So I am like Rabbi Joshua ben Levi, a man of the Tannaim age, who lives amongst the Amoraim; and when I see that Rabbi Johanan and Resh Lakish are upheld as the ideals of our age, who succeeded in doing what neither the Knights of the Round Table, nor their surviving knaves could accomplish—then I shall say like King David: "Although I know I am the victim of this modern evolution, still I am glad when my age calls for others to lead them to the house of the Lord."

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF.*
II

MY FIRST article on this subject obtained a compliment for me from the Rev. Dr. Szold of Baltimore, a man whom I have called by name and have surnamed him, although I do not know him personally, and saying to myself: "Come and see what a great man has testified in my behalf," I deemed it proper to continue a talk on the very same topic from a different aspect.

When you read our religious journals you frequently find polemics of a decidedly factious nature. When you meet prominent rabbis you find them proner to discuss the shortcomings than the accomplishments of their brother ministers. When you go to a place where several rabbis live together on a basis of equality, you will find them sometimes living

*H. U. C. Journal, Vol. I, pages 82-86 January, 1897.

in decided enmity, sometimes in an intentionally cool relationship, as if they wished to avoid too frequent contact which might be followed by an outbreak of hostilities. Very rarely, if ever, will you find their mutual relations an illustration of the Psalmist's ideal: "How beautiful is it and how pleasant for brethren to dwell together in unity." I do not allude to any special *event* in this country, but wish to say that I have found this state of affairs among those who sat in the Beth-Hamidrash in the little town of Nikolsburg. I have seen it in Breslau, in Vienna, in Berlin, in Hamburg, in London, and wherever I found an opportunity to peep through from the outside.

Contemporaneous literature furnishes not a few instances of that kind which are not limited to Judaism and its theology. De Lagarde, the famous orientalist, never speaks without passion. He can never quote Spiegel, the great Persian scholar, without calling him, sneeringly, Herr Hofrath. And if one has the misfortune to be a Jew he will certainly never be cited by Mr. De Lagarde without such a charitable attribute as, son of the malodorous ghetto, or any other compliment that will remind the unfortunate son of Israel of the superiority of Aryan-Christian civilization. I know of no Jewish author whom I could compare to De Lagarde for rudeness of tone and utter lack of fairness, though even in our literature unpleasant personalities are not infrequent. Steinschneider, e. g., speaks of Graetz as a "Compilator." This is certainly unfair, for in spite of Steinschneider's immortal merits in Jewish literature, nobody could

ever have studied Jewish history from the "Catalogus Bodlejanae" or from the twenty-two volumes of the Hebraeische Bibliographie. Graetz retaliated, and when he alludes to Steinschneider it is mostly done with a view to disparagement (See e. g. viii-408). Geiger naturally did not like the whole Breslau school, and as far as a principle was involved, there is no objection. He found that the position of both, Graetz and Frankel, was half-hearted, left us say cowardly. In former times I used to think that he was wrong, for it seemed to me that Frankel's attitude was the only one that could save Judaism in civilized Europe from the pernicious influence of the Yeshibah. And this merit Breslau did have. As conditions are now, I think that this faltering attitude, this dodging of the vital questions of the day, such as the Messianic dogma, did a great deal of harm and is largely responsible for the marasmus which threatens the future of Judaism in Western Europe. However, this may be true, and still Geiger might have shown more justice to his opponents. This we utterly miss when he calls Graetz "Ein Schwindler und Charlatan von der ersten Sorte" (Geiger's Leben in Briefen", p. 257.) Graetz retaliated, it is true, and the delight which he displayed when he found out that Geiger committed the unpardonable mistake of writing "Leon *da* Modena," instead of simply "Leon Modena" appears to us rather small.

Very wrong on the part of Graetz was his remark concerning Zunz in the preface to the fifth volume of his history, where he speaks of Zunz's "Notizenkram,"

as more apt to bedim than to enlighten the reader, although no one can deny the fact that Zunz's books were not written for readers, but for reference-hunters. It is of no use to add other instances, I shall refer only to Melanchthon's famous word of the theological rabies, which he, poor soul, still experienced after his death, when Leonhard Hutter, in a theological disputation, held at Wittenberg in the seventeenth century, threw Melanchthon's picture on the floor and trampled upon it, because Hutter's opponent had dared to quote Melanchthon as a theological authority.

When we see such things in our day, they appear in a more civilized form, but they are, nevertheless, children of the same spirit. Trees must not be planted too close together, and the taller they are the more they will prove an inconvenience to each other, and the thicker their foliage the likelier it is that their branches will become entangled.

This is human nature. In the Midrash we find the following remark: "They—Korah and his followers—went down alive into the pit." That means: "They are living even now" (Rabbah Num. xvi, 33). What did the author of this Midrash mean? I think he meant that the generation of Korah, the disturbers of the peace of the community, the "chronic kickers," will never die out. It may be that I am mistaken, and that my interpretation is a Midrash on the Midrash, but I believe that this was really the sense of the author of this saying. But suppose it was not. Is not the story of Korah's rebellion in itself a philosophy of Jewish history. There are Moses and Aaron, two men who sacrificed their best interests to those of

the community. Moses held a high position at the court, and no one would have reminded him of that dark spot in his pedigree, had Moses not considered it his duty to protect his unfortunate brethren. This came near costing him his life. He escaped and found a safe refuge in the house of a Midianitic priest, the religious head of a clan, whose hospitality made the stranger a member of the Midianitic gentry. He might have lived there, but it seems he was bound to get himself into trouble for the sake of others. So he returned to Egypt. The rash act of his killing an Egyptian had meantime been forgotten. I suppose it was, after all, considered heroic, and in Egypt a man would no more have been killed for defending a kinsman than a Kentucky jury would find a verdict against a man for shooting one who had called him a liar. So Moses could again have returned to his former position and rise in rank, had he not had the weakness to devote his life to his down-trodden brethren.

No sooner was his work accomplished than people began to charge that he had enslaved instead of liberating them, and that everything he did was for the purpose of rising to power and providing jobs for his kinsmen and favorites. This is so natural, so regular in history, that the author of the Midrash justly said: They went down alive, and so they are still living. And a popular adage quoted: The sons of Korah died not (Num. xxvi, 2.), in the sense that quarrelsome backbiters never die out.

Well, Biblical criticism has in these days so many followers that it will be necessary to take the views of the critics into consideration. Criticism is a child of

the era of evolution: The religion of Moses could not have been the product of one single intellect, but had undergone a series of changes before it assumed the shape of a thoroughly organized hierarchy and before it had developed a minute ritualistic service. So—critics teach—the oldest religious stage was that of domestic sacrifices performed by the head of the clan. The higher civilization developed the clan into the tribe and finally into the nation. So by and by religious practices became a science and its adepts went from one place to another seeking a community which demanded their services. They may have been the descendants of one family; at all events, they formed a guild, within which by and by a certain family rose to prominence. This stirred up a protest from the less favored members of the tribe, the Levites, who libeled Aaron saying that he had made the golden calf. The Aaronites in turn proved by the story of Korah that God himself had approved of the superiority of their clan over the others.

Let us suppose that this hypothesis is correct. It would not change the psychological aspect of the history. No sooner does a man rise to prominence than he becomes the object of envy and the target of slander.

The prophet Elijah was evidently laboring under the disadvantage of standing outside of the official ranks. He did not belong to the four hundred and fifty which ate at Jezebel's table. He did not dress according to the fashion. The court prophets appeared in what was in those days full dress; he wore a mantel of camel-hair and a girdle of leather, and,

what was the greatest horror, he had a long beard. Society considered him a "Bollack". Scarcely different was the case of Jeremiah. Why did he not preach of the great accomplishments of Judean Judaism? Why did he mock at many altars? Why did he ridicule the emphatic boasts about the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of theLord? Why did he tell of the formidable power of Nebuchad nezar, when people expected of a prophet that he should hold up the belief in Israel's invincibleness So he had himself to blame when the way of the Lord was made a reproach unto him and a derision all the day. But, so or so, the best way to paralyze Jeremiah's effort was to pronounce him a traitor, just as it proved effective, when the prohpets of the Baal said that Elijah was a trouble-maker.

In rabbinical times it was hardly any better. The Talmud counts as sworn enemies dogs, roosters, sorcerers, lewd women and rabbis (Pesachim 115, b). R. Hanina, of whom we shall speak later, informs us that every rabbi is "singed by the halo of his neighbor. Oh, what a shame! Oh, what a disgrace!" (Baba Bathra, 75, a.). It must have been an experience of his own time, when R. Eliezer ben Hyrkanos advised his disciples to warm themselves at the firesides of rabbis, but to beware of their live coal, lest they be burned, for their bite is the bite of a snake and their sting the sting of a scorpion (Aboth ii, 15.) We shall see later on that R Eliezer, like many other wise men, forgot his admonition when he needed it himself, and his dying words were: "Take heed that you shall not forget the respect which you owe to your friends"

(Ber. 28, b). How generally, however, this duty was disregarded may be clearly seen from the saying that Jerusalem was destroyed for the sin of disrespect to rabbis. (Sabbath 119, b.) A very strong smile is: "Behold harlots beautify each other's complexion, why should not rabbis do the same?" (Sabbath 34 a).

Still as is the case with all theories, they are easier and more frequently understood than they are practiced. We find a great number of instances which show that the members of the profession disliked each other, that they had a sharp eye for their neighbor's shortcomings, and were blind to his virtues. R. Eliezer ben Hyrkanos was excommunicated. R. Jahuda Hanasi was too liberal for Phineas ben Jair and too orthodox for R. Hija. Rab had not yet arrived in Babylonia when his colleagues, Karna and Samuel, resolved to make it hot for him. Saadya found his colleague, Kohen Zedek siding with his enemy, David ben Zakkai. Abraham ben David called Maimonides a fool and an ignoramus. Jacob Emden was convinced that Jonathan Eybeschuetz was an instrument of Satan, and David Kaufmann in the preface to the autobiography of Glueckel von Hameln informs us that Kayserling spoke of two manuscripts of this work, when he referred to one only. But I shall not go down to contemporary history, else I might get myself into such trouble that I might not have a chance to continue my account of rabbinical rabbi-haters in a later issue.

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF.*
III

IN MY first article on this subject, I said that the psychological forces which act as motives in human nature will forever remain the same, and, therefore, when people live closely together, the consequence will be a conflict of interest, which will result in enmity, either by acts, or by words, or by feelings. The more our moral ideals or our desire for outward appearance require the suppression of our actual sentiments, the stronger they will break out when the accumulated heat has reached the limits of expansion. Wherever there is a community of interests, the diversity in methods will be stronger than the fellowship of endeavor. I knew an old-fashioned Jew, who said: "The best thing for our people would be, if all of them could be made postmasters." When asked, why he thought so much of this occupation, he said: "It is not because of this occupation, but because every one would live at least ten miles away from his neighbor and there would be no opportunity to quarrel." The same is true of rabbis, and therefore we understand why literature furnishes so many instances of disagreement, malice and hatred, among the members of the profession.

At the head of the rabbinical period of Jewish history stands Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai. There is as everywhere in our ancient history, a thick growth of legends around this historical figure; still, we can see this much, that he was an extraordinary character who had both the courage and the power to gather the

*H. U. C. Journal Vol.I, pages 103-105, February 1897.

dispersed forces at a moment so critical as was the time of the destruction of the temple. Such a man had to be an optimist, a man who believed in the mission of Judaism, but this would only suffice to make him the reorganizer of a community. In order to succeed in the latter object he had to be a man of conciliatory spirit. And this he was. We can see it from his teachings which are undoubtedly better historical sources than any biographical notes which we could glean from the Talmudic legends. He explains the law that an altar should not be built of hewn stones in the following homily: "The stones of the altar which are blind and deaf and mute shall be protected against the pernicious iron, because they bring peace into the world, how much the more shall a man be protected against all evil who regards it as his mission to establish peace and good will on earth." (Mekilta xx, 25.)

This homily, although it may be spurious, shows us the historical character in the same manner in which the story of the hatchet shows us the historical George Washington. In Jabneh, where he had established a school which was considered a substitute for the doctrinal authority formerly vested in the Sanhedrin, it happened for the first time since the destruction of Jerusalem that New Year's day fell on a Sabbath. In former times the strictly observant Pharisees would make a distinction between the temple of Jerusalem and the synagog. The rites of the former, as divinely ordained, were considered obligatory, the services of the latter were a custom, not a duty. Consequently, whenever the latter conflicted with

Sabbath observance they were not permitted, while the rites of the temple took preference over the Sabbath. According to the view of the Pharisees, playing on a musical instrument, although not considered work, was regarded as inconsistent with the Sabbath rest—Sh'buth—and therefore, as long as the temple in Jerusalem existed, the blowing of the horn was allowed in the temple only, not in the synagog. The Pharisees were a low church party. Like all such parties in ecclesiastical history, e. g., the Waldenses and the Methodists, they had little sympathy with ritualism, although they would not attack it directly. So the Pharisees, not objecting to the rites of the temple, emphasized the importance of the synagog.

Now, after the destruction of the temple, R. Johanan ben Zakkaj thought the time had come to transfer one of the prerogatives of the house which God had chosen, to the house where he was worshipped. He decided that in spite of the Sabbath the horn should be blown. The High-church party objected just as the Catholic church objected to services, at which no mass was said. They wished to know what reasons R. Johanan had for his departure from tradition. He, knowing that no theological argument had ever convinced the opponent, said: "Let us discuss the matter after services." After services the opponents approached him, no doubt well provided with ammunition for a theological battle, but R. Johanan said: "We cannot afford to risk our authority by the acknowledgment that we may have erred. Practice has decided, and theory must yield." (Rosh ha-shanah 29b.)

R. Johanan succeeded in preventing a religious disturbance. It could not always have been an easy task, for one of his disciples, when asked to state what the most desirable thing for a man was, said: "A good friend." However, during his lifetime we hear of no disturbance of the peace of Judaism. He must have been a man like Mendelssohn, who could get along with everybody. Mendelssohn who did not ask for R. Hirschel Levin's indorsement for his Pentateuch—translation and commentary, knowing that he could not get it, but said that he thought his efforts were to insignificant to trouble "the princes of Israel" for an expression of opinion. [1]

The Prussian government wanted a compendium of the Jewish civil law and asked the chief-rabbi, Hirschel Levin to write it. Mendelssohn did it for him,[2] and Zunz justly remarked that R. Hirschel was better known through Mendelssohn's than through his own writings,[3] which remains true even today, although R. Hirschel's notes on the Talmud have meantime been edited. The congregation of Berlin wished to celebrate some patriotic occasion, Mendelssohn wrote the sermon, and it was published as a translation from the Hebrew, written by the chief-rabbi.[4]

Mendelssohn, when engaged to Fromet Guggenheim, visited Hamburg, and paid his respects to the chief-rabbi, Jonathan Eybeschitz. The latter felt highly flattered, and expressed regret that local traditions did not permit him to confer on such a distinguished

[1] Kayserling: Moses Mendelssohn, page 289, Leipsic, 1862.

[2] ib. 280-281.

[3] Zunz: Die Monatstage des Kalenderjahres, page 47. Berlin, 1872.

[4] Kayserling, 1. c. 120.

visitor the D. D. (Morenu).[5] Jacob Emden demanded Mendelssohn's assistance in his efforts to have a law repealed which prohibited the early burial custom among the Jews. Mendelssohn refused, and was promptly given to understand that he was a heretic.[6] He did not reply. Eybeschutz's successor Raphael Kohen intended to pronounce excommuni-, cation upon all who studied Mendelssohn's Pentateuch. The latter applied to a friend, who obtained for his work the subscription of the Danish court. R. Raphael dared not condemn a book which the court had so highly honored, and Mendelssohn was satisfied.[7] So, he never wrote a line against any of his rabbinical antagonists, not even against Ezekiel Landau, who had proven that R. Eliezer ben Hyrkanos had, in his prophetic spirit, 1650 years before Mendelssohn's Pentateuch was published, declared this book to be dangerous.[8] So, Mendelssohn was privileged to give to Judaism a new direction, and was saved from the usual lot of reformers. He lived and died in peace. Similar to his, was the character of R. Johanan ben Zakkai. But a conflict may be avoided by a man. It cannot be avoided by a cause. And this was the experience which was in store for Rabban Gamaliel, R. Johanan's successor, as it fell to the lot of Aaron Chorin and Abraham Geiger who continued the work of Mendelssohn.

[5] Kerem Hemed, III, 224. Graetz, Geschichte, X, 397. 3rd. ed.

[6] Kayserling, 1. c. 277.

[7] Graetz, Geschichte, XI, 48.

[8] Zelah ad Berakot, 28, b. Prague, 1791.

THE YEAR 1903 IN JEWISH HISTORY.*

WRITING history of our own age fills us with the importance of the historian's task. It teaches us the difficulty of gathering reliable information, of properly grouping and of scientifically selecting the facts which make history. Official documents always speak with a view of the public and not with regard to the information of posterity. Where a resignation from a pulpit is tendered with heavy heart because of ill health and accepted with great reluctance, the whole procedure is often a kind way of kicking out the man, although the minutes of the congregation, a first-class contemporary source, state the contrary. On the other hand, people in a position to know withhold the facts, partly because they are interested in keeping the matter quiet, partly because they would get themselves into trouble, and so even from contemporary sources we learn a great deal with is not true and are kept in ignorance of many things which are true. I envy people who are so positive about the reasons for R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus' excommunication,[1] for I know a man who was discharged from a charitable institution because of serious breach of morality, while officially he had resigned, considering it incompatible with his religious views that children under his care should be permitted to write on Sabbath.

*From Hebrew Union College Annual, 1904.

[1]Baba Mezia, 59 b.

This premise was necessary in order to find an excuse for my own shortcomings. Often enough in teaching and writing I hear Mephistopheles whisper:

Habt Ihr von Gott, der Welt und was sich drin bewegt,
Definitionen nicht mit grosser Kraft gegeben?
Und wollt Ihr recht ins Innre gehen,
Habt Ihr davon, Ihr muesst es grad' gestehen,
So viel als von Herrn Schwerdtleins Tod gewusst!

There is, however, another great difficulty in writing Jewish history. It extends over so vast a territory and embraces such a variety of subjects that one must be posted on the political economy of Hungary, as well as on the police laws of Russia, in order to do justice to the task. Careful reading of the papers of all countries, coupled with an extensive correspondence, would be necessary in order to obtain correct information on the facts which go to make history of the Jews. One man could not do it; it would require a seminar with some means at its command in order to prepare the material for the future historian. Let us hope that this annual will pave the way.

Till Eulenspiegel, when asked how a wise man should act, answered: See how the fools are acting and do the opposite. If we understand this advice not literally but merely in the sense that the consciousness of failure is the first step toward improvement, this rule will apply to Jewish historiography. Our historians have been accustomed to look upon Jewish history too much from the rabbinical point of view. Graetz closes his "Vokstuemliche Geschichte der Juden" with the establishment of the rabbinical

seminaries to which he ascribes the task assigned to the prophet Elijah in the Talmud,[2] viz., to solve all difficulties. He therefore sees in the rabbinical seminaries the fulfilment of the Messanic prophecies. To me the admission of Lionel de Rothschild to the English Parliament means a great deal more, and Jews' College is merely a slow consequence of that fact. In 1782 Loeb Cohen, or, as he was officially called, Levi Barent Cohen, Lionel de Rothschilds' grandfather, addressed a letter to Ezekiel Landau, chief rabbi of Prague, asking him whether it was permissible to open an umbrella on the Sabbath, which the rabbi of course denied.[3] With men of Loeb Cohen's type as leading laymen, rabbis like Tebele Schiff or Solomon Herschell were in full harmony, while with Lionel de Rothschild as Parnas a rabbi had to be a man of German academic training, so long as Jewish ministers of English education could not be obtained, and so Alfred L. Cohen, Loeb's great-grandson, quite consistently founded a prize for the students of Jews' College showing the greatest proficiency, not in the solution of ritual questions, but in English literature.[4]

Similarly Graetz devoted a disproportionately large space to the controversy between Jacob Emden and Jonathan Eybeschuetz, while he does not mention the important part which the Jews at that time played as farmers of the tobacco monopoly and as pioneer manufacturers.

If we do not wish to fall into the same error, we must look upon Jewish history from the point of view

[2] Eduyoth VIII, 7.

[3] Noda Bi-Yehudah, 2d collection, Orach Chajim, No. 40.

[4] Jewish Chronicle, Dec. 1903, p. 8.

of the Jewish people. In this respect the year 1903 will rank next to 1096 and 1648. The massacres of the crusades and of the Cossacks have been repeated with only such changes as the twentieth century accomplishments, like the telegraph, newspaper, international politics, etc., required. The slaughter of Kishineff, April 19-20 and its sequel at Homel, September 14, will be as black spots on the pages of Russian history as the St. Bartholomew was for France, and the Inquisition for Spain. On Kishineff we have quite a literature,[5] and concerning Homel information is given in the Jewish Encyclopedia. It is needless to repeat here the horrible details. The fact remains that in a large city with a military garrison the authorities allowed the mob for two days full freedom of murdering, pillaging and raping. No attempt at whitewashing will ever free the Russian government from the responsibility for this outrage. The government had been informed that the violent diatribes of Krushevan in his two papers, the Besarabetz of Kishineff and the Znamiya of St. Petersburg, incited the populace to bloodshed; the local governor was invoked by the Jews in time to prevent the imminent massacre, but the government seems to have thought that a little Jew-killing would be a good means to cool the passions

[5] W. C. Stiles: Out of Kishineff, New York, 1903; H. Dagan: Les Massacres de Kishinef et la situation des proletaires juifs en Russie in Cahiers de la quinzaine, Paris, 1903; Leo Errera: Les massacres de Kishinef, Brussels, 1903; Michael Davitt: Within the Pale. A true story of anti-semitic persecution in Russia. Philadelphia & New York, 1903; Told: Die Judenmassacres in Kischinew, Berlin, n. d.; Wladimir Korolenko: Haus 13. Eine Episode aus dem Kischinewer Massacre, Berlin, 1904; Isidore Singer: Russia at the bar of the American people. A memorial of Kishinef, New York, 1904; The voice of America on Kishinef, edited by Cyrus Adler, Philadelphia, 1904.

of the mob, and to turn them away from revolutionary movements. The best proof for the truth of this is the Easter season of 1904, which was absolutely free from the usual holiday celebrations of the Russian mob, although the war in the East must have considerably reduced the military forces, and although political agitators spread the old calumny, recurring in every war since medieval times, that the Jews aided the enemy. The pompous edict of the Czar, issued March 12, which proclaimed religious liberty, while not moderating the least of the disabilities under which Jews and Christian dissenters are suffering, shows clearly that the world was to be deceived by the pretense that the mob was beyond control of the authorities in its justified provocation by the usurious practices of the Jews, a statement given prominence by Count Cassini, the Russian ambassador to the United States, although, as the reception of the delegates of representative Jewish bodies by President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hay June 15, proves the trick had no effect.

The general policy of the Russian administration with regard to the Jews had not been unfavorable. Within the Pale of Settlement, where, according to the law of May 3 (15), 1882, residence in the villages is prohibited to the Jews, 101 villages were raised to the rank of towns, May 23,[6] and about fifty others have been added to the list since. In individual instances Jewish students were permitted to enter colleges beyond the limit fixed by law, and the Senate, often appealed to in the numerous difficulties which the restrictive laws against the Jews offer to interpretation, has in general taken a more liberal view.

[6] Hazefirah, No. 119.

While the Senate, being a court, is not officially an exponent of the government's policy, it hardly seems to admit of any doubt that there is a desire on the part of the government to have the law interpreted in a more liberal way. A decided improvement can not, of course, be expected unless Russia changes her entire system of government, which under present conditions seems not unlikely. The Talmud says: The ring which Ahasverus handed to Haman had a greater effect than the preaching of the forty-eight prophets and seven prophetesses who arose in Israel,[7] which means that a national disaster has more effect than any sermon in removing inveterate evils. The battle of Jena, 1806, brought regeneration to Prussia, and to the Jews the declaration in the edict of March 11, 1812, that they are "Buerger und Einlaender." The battle of Koeniggraetz, 1866, brought to Austria the "Staatsgrundgesetze" of December 21, 1867, which removed the last disabilities of the Jews. The blowing up of the Petropavlovsk and the crossing of the Yalu river may have the same result for theRussian Jews.

Conditions in the East show us what an immense amount of labor is awaiting us, when once the Jewish question in Russia has been settled. Persia and Morocco present precisely the same picture which conditions in Europe showed at the time of the crusades. About Persia the only source of information comes through the reports of the principals of the schools maintained by the Alliance Israelite Universelle. It is the same monotonous, sad story of Jewish peddlers murdered in the villages, where they are

[7]Megillah, 14, a.

transacting their business, of occasional outbreaks of mob violence against the whole population of a town, of an unwillingness and, often enough, of the inability of the authorities to put a stop to such outrages, while the spiritual life of the Jews is one of utter degradation which manifests itself in incredible superstition and laziness. Morocco had her usual riots. Jewish shops were looted in Mekinez April 4, and the whole Jewish population of Staat had to flee for their lives November 17, to Casablanca, where the British consul took them under his protection. The defeat of the pretender Bu Hamara, January 30, evidently had not the expected effect of pacifying the country. Savages have among other prejudices also the belief that they are not beaten until they are killed, and it seems as if only European intervention would be able to produce a change in Morocco, as was the case in Egypt. The latter country, however, had the Easter excesses which localities where there is a strong Greek element seem to require for the proper celebration of the miracle of Resurrection. The population of Port Said committed excesses against the Jews March 25, which, however, were soon suppressed. Roumania has of late seemed inclined to at least partly redeem the pledges given at the Berlin congress of 1878, but it remains to be seen whether this is not merely a ruse for the sake of winning the good will of European financiers or at best a temporary measure in the interest of the country's finances. Some of the measures decreed during the last year were exceedingly harsh. The president of the Bucharest police prohibited the selling of souvenir postal cards by Jews,

and said to a committee who told him this measure meant starvation for them: Either hang yourself or emigrate. Of importance perhaps is an essay published by Judge Mandrea in a law-journal in which citizenship was claimed for Jews born on Roumanian soil who had served in the Roumanian army.

While in Roumania conditions seem to be improving Bulgaria, which before its independence was almost unknown in Jewish history, begins to work for a place in Greek Christian civilization. Serious excesses occurred in Sophia June 14, and grave complications may be apprehended if the country, which is a political volcano, should see another outbreak. Matters of that kind come suddenly in the Balkan territory, as events in Servia have proven. The blood accusation is just as indispensable there as in all the other Greek Catholic countries, and Bechor Chididji was on trial for five years under such an accusation, until his case was finally dismissed, March 26.

The necrology of this year must prominently mention Pope Leo XIII. who died in his ninety-fourth year, July 21. His Pontificate lasted twenty-five years and was, no doubt, the most powerful one in the history of the nineteenth century. He was a master of the art of diplomacy, and has used anti-semitism just the same as any other political factor by which the Church could profit. He denied the request of Madame Dreyfus to say a word in behalf of her husband; he refused to utter a word against the blood accusation, although he was approached by important personalities, like Sir Horace Rumbolt,[8] at that time English ambassador in Vienna, but on the other hand, he

[8] London Times, June 10, 1903.

repeated to Madame Severine the usual anti-semitic cant that the Jews own all the wealth of the world, and he repeatedly decorated anti-semitic leaders, as it was with his sanction that Drumont in Paris and Lueger in Vienna received the heartiest support of ecclesiastic orders and dignitaries. His successor will not be different, although he received Dr. Herzl in private audience. The policy of the Roman Catholic Church will always be that of Innocent III., who said that the Jews must be kept in the state of oppression, so that their misery might be a testimony to the glory of Christ. Still the twentieth of September, 1870, is a historic fact, and the recent visit of President Loubet to the Quirinal is something which cannot entirely be lost as an example to other Catholic sovereigns, although the Pope of today like the ten successors who shall rule after him, according to the prophecy of St. Malachias, will proclaim with Heine:

Das alte Canossa ist laengstens untergegangen.
Wir moechten ein neues bauen,
Docht fehlt dazu das Beste,
Die Marmorsteine, die Quadern
Und die gekroenten Gaeste.

The difference between the time of the Pope-King and that of the present kingdom of Italy cannot better be characterized than by the fact that Signor Luzzatti has been for the fifth time called to the ministry of Finance, November 3, while Giuseppe Ottolenghi, who in the former ministry had occupied the post of Minister of War, has been given the command of an army corps.

France, fighting clericalism, has become the natural ally of Italy and, strange to say the rabbinical philosophy of history has again been justified in this case. "Every tyrannical government has hated Israel and oppressed it."[9] As long as France was in the clutches of clericalism, which is the most dangerous form of tyranny the world has ever known, it had to have a Jewish victim. The collapse of the monstrous clerical intrigue, the victim of which was Captain Dreyfus, seems to bring the improvement. The socialistic deputy Jaures reopened the Dreyfus case in Parliament, April 6 and the Minister of War, M. Andre, promised an investigation. The petition of the Captain to have his trial reopened has meantime received favorable consideration, and there is reasonable hope that the cause of justice will finally triumph.

Algeria, at one time the center of the anti-semitic movement, has seen an anti-Jewish riot at Medeasa, June 6, but, while one victim was killed and three others wounded, it hardly can be considered significant. The rioters were Mohammedans who have not yet become reconciled to the French rule in the seventy-five years of its existence, and have not learned the lessons of civilization. Nor do the new ordinances for the election of the Algerian consistory, issued September 21, deserve any particular notice. It will never do to introduce a hierarchical system into Judaism, and therefore the whole consistorial constitution, now almost a century old, will never be more than a stage scenery, and especially so in the Orient, where the natives look upon a European Jew as a sort of heathen of Jewish descent.

[9] Leviticus Rabbah, Ch. 13.

England, for over two centuries the haven of refuge for persecuted Jews, seems to be on the eve of changing her traditional policy of hospitality to the oppressed. The Alien Immigration Commission which was in session in 1902, finished its labors and handed its reports to the Home Secretary, August 11. The parliamentary debates now in progress hardly leave any doubt that some restrictive measures against immigration will be passed, and that they are aimed against Russian Jews. Difficulties are also encountered by Jewish immigrants in the colonies of South Africa where new laws of a restrictive nature have been passed, and even those who had left Europe before the passage of the new laws, arriving in Capetown after their enactment, were refused landing, February 2. In this connection the generous offer by the British government of a large territory to Jewish colonists in Central Africa must be mentioned. The Zionist congress, held in Basle, August 23-30, was startled by the Offer of Uganda. The offer created quite a stir. While a majority adopted it, and while the minority accepted the decision, a strong opposition arose later on, chiefly under the leadership of Engineer Ussischkin, and a conference of Russian Zionists held in Charkov, protested against the proposed Uganda colony as a sort of treachery to the Zionist cause. Meantime a compromise seems to have been reached at the meeting of the Greater Actions Committee in Vienna, and the question will be studied. There have already been heard within that territory voices of strong protest against the settlement of Jews who would make of it a "Jewganda," and even

if adopted, it remains to be seen whether the success of this scheme will be any greater than that in Argentine, especially when the settlers go there with the conviction that their new home is merely a "night's lodging" and a "way station on the march to Palestine," as one of the leaders said in Basle. At all events it is a pity that the Jewish Colonization Association should have refused to co-operate with the Zionists in the consideration of the British governments' offer and declined to enter into any consideration of Herzl's request to assist in defraying the cost of a commission to be sent to Africa.

The anti-semitic agitation in Germany seems to be waning, which, however, does not mean that the political condition of the Jews has in any way been improved. The elections to the Reichstag, held June 16, brought victory to only one anti-semitic candidate; the by-elections which decide the contest between the two candidates who received the highest vote, if none received the majority of all votes cast, took place June 26. They resulted in the return of eight additional delegates, who thus form an anti-semitic party of nine members, split into two factions. Thus their number is by no means formidable, although they have received two additional mandates in special elections held since. On the other hand, there are different factors which must be considered. A number of members, belonging to other parties, are in sympathy with the anti-semites, and even the liberals, pressed to the wall by the growing power of the socialists, are unwilling as a rule to expose themselves in advocating the cause of the Jews. Anti-semitic in their sympathies are also the clericals,

although they are careful not to show it. In Hochfelden, Alsace, excesses were committed against the Jews, June 28, because they were considered to be the cause of the defeat of the clerical candidate. The King of Saxony even went so far as to congratulate Mr. Graefe, the anti-semitic delegate for Bautzen-Kamenz, upon his victory. This congratulation was, of course, meant more for the victory over the socialist, but it remains a fact that His Majesty would rather have an anti-semite than a socialist.

The heir-presumptive to the diminutive throne of Schwarzburg called on Mr. Graefe to express to him his gratification at the victory of the national cause. Various interesting lessons are to be learned from this little incident. The principality of Schwarzburg was one of those where the Jews were "civilized" by a paternal government. It appointed for them a Landrabbiner, the venerable Philip Heidenheim, who will complete his ninetieth year June 14, and who holds the record for the longest term of office in any community, having preached his sixty-seventh Pesach sermon on Passover last. The same government recommended to its beloved Jewish subjects the subscription to the Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums, when it first appeared in 1837, but still its next ruler, although all his Jewish subjects know how to read German now, and have stopped peddling, descends from his prospective throne to call on an humble Herr Graefe, because the latter as anti-semite will save the fatherland.

Sadly interesting is the fact that to Mr. Graefe's district belongs the city of Kamenz, where one hundred

and seventy-five years ago Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, the author of "Nathan der Weise," was born. The citizens of Kamenz have not done great honor to their famous countryman.

Elections to the Prussian diet, held November 19, resulted in the return of two anti-semites and seven Jews, the latter not known to be anti semites, a statement which, as will be seen later, is not entirely superfluous. This difference, so much the more astonishing, when we learn that in the Reichstag outside of the socialistic party no Jewish candidate is elected, becomes clear when we remember that the mode of election is entirely different, as in the Prussian diet the middle classes possess the franchise exclusively, and the Jews naturally are there as a considerable factor willing to support the candidate of the liberals without demanding any service in return. How far the Jews will go in their self abnegation is shown by the fact that in Schlochau three Jews with the local "Prediger" at the head came out in favor of the anti-semitic candidate Boeckler, editor of the anti-semitic paper "Staatsbuergerzeitung," who had been sentenced to one year in jail for libeling the authorities, as shielding the Jews at the ritual murder trial of Konitz. This was supposed to demonstrate the unselfish patriotism of the Jews who would rather see an anti-semite than a socialist elected. Similarly, Mr. Wolfskehl of Darmstadt came out in support of the anti-semitic candidate, although his liberal friends had kicked him out of the diet of Hesse, of which he had been a member, in order to oblige their anti-semitically inclined followers.

The actions of the authorities are in no wise more favorable to the Jews than that of the political parties. It is an open secret that a Jew cannot be appointed an officer in the German army, with the exception of the Bavarian contingent. Graduates of higher institutions have the right to serve only one year instead of two and after the completion of their term of service they are, if capable, promoted to the rank of officers in the reserve. To Jews this distinction is denied. An especially interesting fact was publicly discussed through the publication of a letter addressed to the Kaiser by the Breslau attorney Justizrath Feige, October 10. Mr. Feige's son had served as volunteer and had been refused admission to the officers' examination. His father, who had served in the Franco-Prussian war and had been promoted to the rank of lieutenant, which even then was a very rare distinction for a Jew, wrote to the Kaiser complaining that as far as Jews are concerned the equality of all citizens before the law is a dead letter. The emperor's Kabinetskanzlei (office of private secretary) replied that young Mr. Feige was dealt with according to his merit, whereupon Mr. Feige justly called attention to the fact that, although Jews supply a large percentage of the volunteers, none of them is appointed officer in the reserve. Once in a while an officer will let the cat out of the bag. So it happened to a young man named Hauptmann in Breslau who wanted to enter as volunteer for two years. While in such a case the volunteer has to serve the same length of time as the regularly conscripted men, he has the advantage of finishing his term

of service sooner. Decision in such a case rests with the captain of the company into which the volunteer wishes to enter. The captain received Mr. Hauptmann very cordially, but a few days later he received notice that Jewish volunteers are not wanted, and that the promise was made before he knew that the applicant was a Jew. The matter was brought to the notice of the authorities who regretted the form in which the refusal had been expressed, but the matter itself was not remedied. The practical exclusion of Jews from public offices was discussed in the Prussian diet March 9. The liberals condemned this policy, the minister of course denied any knowledge of it, while the conservatives insisted on the theory of the Christian state, an idea first advocated by the convert Friedrich Julius Stahl. This time it was another convert, Professor Friedberg, who ridiculed the idea, but the fact that he is a convert to Christianity shows that he knows well enough that the idea of the state as strictly secular is a mere theory. In Bavaria, where the clericals form the majority, the minister declared himself openly against the appointment of Jews as teachers, and the protest of the council of Nuremberg had no effect, February 17.

The saddest result of the anti-semitic agitation was the cruel murder of Abraham Levi, a Polish typesetter in Stegers, a village of West Prussia, September 28. The facts of this case have never been fully made clear. Stegers is in the neighborhood of Konitz, where the murder of the high school boy Ernst Winter, March 11, 1900, has created an excitement which is not yet over. Levi, who came to the village inn, was teased by the

people present, who asked him whether he had come for the sake of obtaining Christian blood. He is said to have answered with a remark insulting the Christian religion. The real facts cannot be ascertained, for Levi was so mercilessly beaten that next morning he was found dead, and the murderers naturally had to make an attempt to excuse their brutality. It shows a disheartening condition of public morality that one of the murderers escaped punishment, while the other was sentenced to one year in jail. One year in jail for killing a man! while Moritz Lewy was sentenced to four years in the penitentiary for alleged perjury which, if he had been guilty of it, could not have been intended to harm anybody, nor could any come out of it. Moritz Lewy, out of anti-semitic motives, had been suspected of the murder, but he succeeded in proving an alibi which was beyond question. During his trial, however, he had sworn that he never knew Winter, while several persons testified that they had seen them together, which he admitted as possible, saying that he might have talked to him occasionally without knowing him by name. In spite of the probability of this statement and in spite of the fact that the only motive for such perjury, if he should have committed it, could have been the fear of implicating himself by such an admission, Lewy was sentenced to four years in the penitentiary, and was only pardoned October 11, after having served half his time. Of late the authorities have been a little more rigorous in the prosecution of anti-semitic excesses, and for such a libel Paul Koch was sent to jail for six months, January 31, while Count Pueckler, who constantly delivers the wildest harangues against

the Jews, was merely fined 450 marks for saying that the Jews had hired an assassin to poison him, when he was touring in Switzerland, January 7. The Count who openly preaches violence and murder against the Jews, and among other things recently advised the German soldiers to shoot their Jewish officers, if ever such should be appointed, is decidedly insane; but the people will have it that the treatment of a count is different from that of any ordinary mortal. An illustration of this is the punishment of editor Wittenberg, who was sent to jail for three months, October 8, because he called Pastor Kroesell a hog-priest, although he actually could prove that Pastor Kroesell lived in concubinage with his housekeeper and was otherwisean immoral character. This pastor, who has meantime been discharged from the ministry because of his immoral conduct, is a classical type of the advantages which anti-semitism offers to Catilinarian existences, an experience which the Talmud[10] puts into the mouth of the arch-anti-semite Titus. The affair of Konitz suggested to him the idea of lecturing on the Talmud and on the depravity of the Jews, and today he is a member of the Reichstag. The ecclesiastic authorities should remember that such men cannot possibly advance the interests of the mission to the Jews, and that of them the words of Luther with regard to the Papists will hold good, that had he been born a Jew and had seen how some of these Christians act, he would rather have turned a hog than a Christian.[11]

And, indeed, the General Synod of the Protestant Church has issued a circular in Prussia to the consis-

[10] Gittin, 56, b.

[11] Graetz, Gesch. ix, 197, 3d ed.

tories to be careful with regard to the conversion of Jews; the reason however is somewhat different. Professor Ladenburg in Breslau, a chemist, had said in a lecture that his laboratory furnished him no evidence of the existence of a soul. Ladenburg, the son of one of the most active workers for the cause of emancipation, the Oberrath Leopold Ladenburg of Mannheim, is a convert to Christianity. The synod of which Stoecker is one of the leading members naturally does not remember that Haeckel and Buechner were born Christians, and that David Friedrich Strauss was even a Protestant theologian. Every evil must come from Judaism, and thus the Protestant Church will be protected against infidels, if she is more careful with the conversion of Jews. Another infidel is not only a born Christian and the son of the leading "positive theologian," but even, as it appears, a mild sort of anti-semite. Friedrich Delitzsch delivered a new address on his favorite topic "Babel and Bible" in the presence of the Emperor and the Empress, January 12. His expressions were somewhat stronger than on former occasions. He spoke of the God of the Old Testament as eating veal cutlets, and said that he had not found much monotheism in the Hebrew Bible. A case like this could not be remedied by a circular addressed to the consistories, and some "positive" Christians complained that the emperor encouraged infidelity. His Majesty found it necessary to write a long theological letter to Admiral Hollmann, January 15, in which he said that Delitzsch was not so bad, and his views could be heard by any Christian with impunity, "although some of the halo of the chosen people would disappear" owing to his discover-

ies. So it seems after all that the chief object of the famous Assyriologist and the reason for the emperor's interest in Assyriology are to be found in the desire to make the Semitic tinge of the Teutonic race disappear.

A decadent community has always been hostile to Israel, as we can see from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. The brutality of the weak, unable to crush its powerful enemies, seeks its victims among the weaker. This experience is demonstrated again in the case of Austria. There anti-semitism shows itself in two different characteristics. In the civilized west of the empire the mob satisfies its brutality with speeches, while in the half-Asiatic east the old fashion of bloodshed and destruction of property are resorted to. Burgomaster Lueger of Vienna, who has been re-elected at every term since 1896, said at his last inauguration, April 16, that peace reigned in the city, but this peace is the peace of merciless boycott against the Jewish citizens of the Austrian capital, numbering about 150,000. How far this boycott goes is evident from an interpellation addressed in the Reichsrath to the minister of education, von Hartel, why the Jewish playwright Arthur Schnitzler was given the Bauernfeld prize. Von Hartel had the courage to answer that such prizes are given for literary merit More in line with time-honored traditions is anti-semitism in Galicia, that part of Poland which was annexed to Austria. In Zablotow the Jews were mobbed September 11; a number of them were seriously wounded and a great deal of property was destroyed. The mob leaders, among whom was a revenue officer, received ridiculously mild sentences and the case

against the revenue officer who led the charge in his uniform with drawn sword in his hands was even dismissed. The oligarchy of Polish noblemen who actually control the government has, however, more modern and effective means at its command, and so they passed a strict Sunday law which means economic ruin to the great mass of observant Jews in the province. A committee of Galician Jews who waited upon the prime minister, requesting him to make an exception in favor of those Jews who observe Sabbath, March 22, had no success. A similar measure was enacted in Hungary, where anti-semitism is latent. The minister of finance decreed, April 5, that tobacco dealers who are under his jurisdiction, as tobacco is the government's monopoly, must keep their entire shops open on Sabbath, while formerly they had been permitted to sell tobacco through a window, handing this business over to a Christian for the day, while their store remained closed. Small as is this matter, it shows the tendency of the government which became still more manifest in the debates in the diet on the immigration of Jews, which is especially large in the northern district, bordering on the overpopulated Galicia, where the condition of the Jews is incredibly pitiful.

Having already overstepped the limit of the space accorded me, I can only briefly refer to the internal condition of Judaism. To us the most prominent facts in this respect are the opening of the new building of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York, April 26 and the installation of Dr. Kohler as president of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, October 18. Both institutions are splendidly

endowed, compared with the condition of the older European seminaries. New York has half a million dollars and a splendid modern building, while Cincinnati has nearly $400,000. Still when I mention this fact at the end of my sketch I do it in a sense entirely different from the motives which actuated my revered teacher Graetz. I feel that "Jewish Science" occupies the last place in the range of Jewish communal activities and aspirations. While the whole country has in about thirty years created two institutions, the city of New York alone has succeeded in raising the enormous sum of $2,500,000 for the splendid Mount Sinai Hospital, Chicago will shortly raise $800,000 for a new hospital building, and Cincinnati will spend $100,000 for hospital improvements. Baroness Julie Cohn-Oppenheim the daughter of Baron Moritz Cohn, the banker of old Kaiser Wilhelm, left upon her death, January 5, 3,000,000 marks each to the city and the Jewish congregation of Dessau. We therefore must admit that the liberality manifested in the erection and the endowment of the two Jewish institutions of learning in America is due less to interest in the cause of "Jewish Science" than to the proverbial generosity of the Jews of whom the Talmud[12] says: You can never fathom the character of this nation; they are asked to give for the golden calf and they give, they are asked to give for the tabernacle and they give, too. It would be unjustified optimism to see in it a genuine enthusiasm for the spiritual cause of Judaism. The best proof of this fact is that the theological students mostly come from the ranks of the poor, and what is more significant, from the famil-

[12] Yerushalmi Shekalim, I, 1, fol. 45, d.

ies of Polish and Russian immigrants. Both are in themselves no misfortune. "Take care of the children of the poor, says already the Talmud[13] for from them shall go forth the law," and students from Polish orthodox families bring into their academic study the advantage of an acquaintance with the practical law, and consequently a good Hebrew vocabulary. On the other hand, it is highly significant that our congregations with magnificent temple structures, while they furnish the funds for theological instruction, are unable to furnish the necessary material of students and even if the king of Sodom said it, it would have been Abraham's policy under the same condition: Give me the persons and the goods keep for thyself.[14] Still it must be gratefully acknowledged that some of our wealthy brethren are willing to support the cause, which, after all, is the only safeguard of Israel's existence. We feel it so much the more keenly when we consider how great our losses are in the rank of our wealthiest coreligionist. A typical case was that of Lord Pirbright, formerly Baron de Worms (died January 9), the grandson of the Frankfort "Schutzjude" Benedict Worms and the great-grandson of Mayer Amschel Rothschild, who surprised the world by his request to be buried in a Christian cemetery. Perhaps this distribution of means on one side and men on the other is a typically Jewish condition. The power was given to Moses, say the rabbis,[15] and the honor to Joshua, for if both had been given to Joshua the equilibrium of society would have been disturbed.

[13] Nedarim, 81, a.

[14] Gen. xiv, 21.

[15] Sifre ad Deut. xxxiii, 17, ed. Friedmann, p. 146, b.

THE YEAR 5665.*

THE POLITICAL horizon of the year now drawing to its close is, as far as Jews are concerned, overhung with dark clouds. In countries, where medievalism prevails, and the life and the property of the Jews are at the mercy of the mob, political constellations are ill-foreboding; in countries, where the Jews theoretically possess full equality, administrative practice or a legislation, shaped to hurt the Jew without naming him, are combining to take with the left hand what was given by the right, and in countries, where actually the Jew was treated with perfect equity, grumblings are heard which threaten to become more distinct.

A dark cloud is overhanging Morocco. It is, with the exception of Tripoli, the last territory of the North African coast, not yet under European control. France and England seem to have had an understanding about its destiny, but the Kaiser, in his usual style of acting as deus ex machina, spoiled the game. The proposed understanding between the two rival countries has as yet not materialized. Meantime murder and pillage go on as ever, and no one can foresee what will be the future of the hundreds of thousands of Jews, when, with the inevitable European intervention, the religious and national fanaticism of the Arabs will call a holy war against the French and all Christians. It is clear that the Jews will be at the mercy of the savage patriots.

*The American Israelite, September 28, 1905.

A crisis of lesser magnitude is shaping itself in Arabia. The common religion can not bridge over the national hatred of Turks and Arabs. The numerous Jews of Yemen leave in ever increasing numbers the country where their ancestors had lived before Mohammed had proclaimed himself Allah's prophet, and go mostly to Jerusalem, where these swarthy, little fellows with their corkscrew Peoth give additional coloring to the picturesque international community of the Holy City and add also to its most thrifty, although unfortunately no less to its most needy population. Persia remains stationary and perhaps presents today the aspect which it presented at the time when, about 1,700 years ago, Abba Areka returned from Palestine to his home on the banks of the Euphrates and when Ardeshir had restored the worship of the Zoroastrian religion. A Jewish peddler is occasionally killed, a Jewish house pillaged, and the neighbors take it as they take the appearance of cholera or as we in civilized countries take a case of typhoid fever.

Roumania for a change has a conservative ministry. It means that another gang of political vultures has gotten a chance of preying on public funds, while the former were so voracious that they had been chased away from the shambles. Both are equally interested in inciting the mob against the Jews with the cry of "stop thief" and so giving to somebody else the privilege of a free ride in the patrol wagon sent to accommodate them. The problem of Roumania, however, is not so very grave, and if Russia did not absorb all the energies of the Jewish organizations, the 240,000 Jews of Roumania could at the present rate of

emigration be disposed of. The great difficulty lies in Russia. With an emigration of about 100,000 a year the congestion and the poverty in the Pale remain appalling. The government instead of lending a hand to relieve the misery does its utmost to aggravate it. The bureaucracy knows no interest except its own. It wishes to keep the Jew in a state of misery, because the wealthy and intelligent Jew is an addition to the forces of liberalism. The miserable Jew is further an easy prey of mobs which must be humored with an occasional fete of pillage, and finally the Jew who clearly sees that there is no hope for him under the czar's government naturally joins the revolutionary forces, and thus on the one hand furnishes an excuse for his persecution, and on the other a support to the old lie of all tyrants that the population is fully contented with the present form of government, and that it is only the cosmopolitan Jew, lacking all sense of patriotism, who is making trouble. This is the secret of all the pogroms which have become alarmingly numerous. Mohilew, Zhitomir Brest Litovsk, Feodosia, Melitopol, Baku, Warsaw, Minsk, Duenaburg, and lately the horrors of Bialystok recall to us the Cossack massacres of 1648. The bulk of the Russian statesmen are indeed still on that plane of civilization on which their predecessors stood when Peter the First, opened the window in the Tartar wall dividing Russia from Europe. An authority like Dr. E. J. Dillon wrote in the April number of the *Contemporary Review*, that the Russian bureaucracy tries to preserve itself by hounding one party of her subjects against the other. The trials of those accused of participation in the Homel and in the Kishineff riots of 1903 dragged

until this spring. The manner in which the trials were conducted and the sentences imposed upon the murderers, pillagers and rapists was such as to put a premium on these acts. The cry of the prophet, "How long wilt thou not have mercy?" is still heavy on our mind. The restoration of peace leaves autocracy free to fight the rebellious element at home. The population, including the opponents of autocracy, is not in sympathy with the Jews. The latter have been so pauperized and degraded by centuries of ill-treatment that it will take a long time and will require a wholesouled devotion based on passionate sympathy to create in the Jewry of the Pale even tolerable conditions. The intercession of representative American Jews with Sergius Witte, Russian plenipotentiary, at the peace convention, has been ridiculed by fault-finders and has been judged useless by serious people. If any one expected that immediately following these conferences the restrictions on the Russian Jews would be removed, he has himself to blame for his dissapointment. A Polish nobleman, who is a Roman Catholic, and with whom I discussed the situation, said to me: "The Russian always says 'da'—in Russian 'yes' and in Polish 'he gives'—but he never does 'da'." On the other hand it is a positive fact that the Russian statesmen want the good will of the American people and the money of Jewish financiers. If Messrs. Straus, Schiff, Seligman and Kraus in their conversation and Mr. Wolf in his letter impressed Mr. Witte with their determination to organize a Russian boycott among the great financiers, Russia will positively yield.

Is pressure the proper thing to win out in the end? This question has been raised in the case of Melvil Dewey, the state librarian at Albany, N. Y., who upon the complaints brought by Louis Marshall, Jacob H. Schiff and others was reprimanded and will be removed from office for his anti-Semitic principles expressed in the management of the summer hotel at Lake Placid, N. Y., Without touching upon the merits of this case which hinges on the question, whether the conduct of an official in his private life, as long as he performs his duties impartially, should be subject to such severe censure, the only proper answer was the one given by Mr. Marshall to Dr. Funk, who advised the Jews from their own interest to be as quiet as possible. This medicine has been tried long enough, Mr. Marshall said, and has been found ineffective. The letter of Dr. Funk, the demeanor of Mr. Dewey and more so the obtrusive speeches of political gangsters before Jewish audiences about the exemplary virtues of the Jewish citizen prove how far distant we are even here from the ideal which we have been dreaming of since the French revolution, viz., that the Jew should be considered merely as a citizen, regardless of his religion and descent.

France herself in the best example of the tardiness in the realization of ideals. The final revision of the Dreyfus trial has not yet taken place, for it seems that even the present anti-clerical government adheres to the principle of *quieta non movere*. There are still Jews in prominent public positions, and one of their number has even been appointed a general in the army, but

clerical agitation is bound to reappear when the party shall have recovered from the shock sustained by the separation of church and state, and when the radicals, now in power, shall, as every party is bound to do at some time, have compromised themselves through corruption or by loss of prestige in foreign relations. This separation of church and state means also a serious internal problem for French Judaism. The habit of relying on state authority for nearly a century (since 1808) and on financial assistance by the state (since 1831) has had the effect of weakening the self-reliance of the French Jews, and perhaps in Algeria the imported French rabbis will disappear and with them their civilizing influence, although in Tunis, which under the so-called French protectorate still preserves the ancient laws, the Jews are only too eager to obtain the status of French citizens and to be freed from the rabbinical tribunal.

England, so long the haven of refuge for the persecuted of all countries, found her patience exhausted by the contemplation of a continued influx of Russian Jews. The new alien bill has been introduced by Balfour upon the urgent agitation of the opposition and has become a law. While its individual features are the same that existed in America for years, excluding criminals, diseased persons and such as are apt to become public charges, the spirit of that law has been aptly characterized by Mr. T. Dundass Pallans, who said it was a British edition of continental anti-Semitism. There is no doubt, however, that laws can do nothing against economic conditions. My native province, Moravia, furnishes the best illustration.

Up to 1848 the restriction of marriage and residence was mercilessly executed, but the Jews increased, while now they have decreased in spite of the freedom, and even the Jews of overpopulated Galicia do not immigrate there. Similar conditions prevail in Bavaria, where these restrictions were in force up to 1861 On the other hand, the best law can not operate against ill-will. The Jews of Limerick, Ireland, are still suffering from the boycott decreed against them by Father Creagh. One-third of their number have left the place, and only recently their minister was stoned by a few boys who shouted: "There is a Jew man, let's kill him?" This is again a strong proof of the great practical value which the ethics of the gospel possess in our day. That Germany should continue the policy of latent anti-Semitism is not surprising, as long as England almost leads the way. The Prussian minister of justice declared in the diet (January 30) quite plainly that he could not appoint Jews to judgeships beyond a certain limited number, while the minister of war, in answering the charges that positions as officers are closed to the Jews, denied all knowledge of it, and when a certain case was quoted as evidence, he had the answer ready that the officers of the particular regiment had voted against this applicant, and that he had no right to inquire into their reasons for so voting. It was said at one time that the young Baron von Goldschmidt Rothschild, the grandson of Baron Willy von Rothschild, had been appointed an imperial page in order to open to him the exclusive circles of the Herrn von Pudewitz and von Strudewitz, but the report was not confirmed. The debate had,

however, one good effect. The anti-Semitic leader, Herr von Liebermann, was forced to admit in public that he had gratuitously slandered a Jewish veteran, Moses Bier, whom General von Loe had called an exemplary soldier, and that he had refused to do him justice, and further, that another veteran had proved to him that he, with three of his brothers, had fought in the wars of 1864-71, and that two of them had been decorated for valor in action.

The authorities, however, so arrange matters that the spirit and even the letter of the law are deftly set aside where the Jew is concerned. Count Pueckler, the demented Anti-Semitic agitator, finally was sentenced to six months in jail for his seditious speeches, which incite the masses to murder and pillage the Jews, but the sentence will never be carried out; while for a cavalry charge on potato diggers on a neighboring farm, which resulted in so frightening a woman that she was confined to her bed for four weeks, the Count was fined a few hundred marks. One M. Levy, of Frankfort, however, who became mixed up in a scrap with the Count in a Berlin hotel, was mercilessly sent to jail for three months (June 2d.)

Conditions in Austria are naturally worse. Here the combined powerful reactionary forces of the Roman Catholic clergy and the titled aristocracy are aided by unscrupulous demagogs like Lueger, the mayor of Vienna, and by the scum of ward-heelers like Schneider, who said that the only baptism of the Jews in which he believed was one with sulphuric acid (October 12th). Rowdyism in the populace

and annoyances like the prohibition of Shehitah by the Vienna board of aldermen, set aside by the minister as illegal, are small matters compared with the grave complications which may arise from the fights in the next elections to the Reichsrath, in which all parties seem to cater to the anti-Jewish vote. This Shehitah prohibition has become a humanitarian fad, and the same people who would baptize Jewish babies with sulphuric acid are filled with compassion at the idea of an ox whose agony might be prolonged for two minutes. In Saxony and in Switzerland Shehitah has been prohibited for years. In Prussia the law compels the use of the city abattoir whenever the city enacts such an ordinance, and the city may declare a certain mode of killing animals obligatory. So in Potsdam Shehitah has been prohibited, and the offer of the Jewish congregation to build an abattoir at its own expense was refused. Even in England such an attack has been made by the admiralty. It is interesting to watch how Shehitah is often the cement that holds congregations together. In London the Polish Congregation Machzike Hadass separated from the rest of the congregation, but the United Synagog, being stronger, had ordered its Shochetim to kill poultry free of charge, and the Machzike who could not afford it had to come to terms, and so the chickens actually served as a "Kapporeh" (atonement.)

While thus the Russian and Polish element furnishes the extremists of the right wing, it also furnishes the radical free-thinkers. Both in London and in Leeds a street fight broke out on account of the provocation

of the observant Jews by the Socialists, the latter in London offering free meals on Yom Kippur. Otherwise liberalism has gained a victory of more than local import in the elections for the congregational board of Berlin, to which a majority of liberals were returned, while at the last elections the majority had been conservative. The cause was extraordinary at the last election, because the issue then was the introduction of Sunday services, on which point the conscience of the Berlin Jew is very sensitive. This, however, does not prevent the conversion to Christianity of 300 Berlin Jews every year, and if figures could be obtained of the baptism of children whose parents remain Jews the total would undoubtedly be much larger, as may be concluded from the fact that of the children of mixed marriages, not one-half, but only one-fourth, are brought up as Jews. In Vienna, conditions are still worse, and the number of conversions to Christianity reached last year the shocking figure of 615. Within the religious camp there is a great deal of stagnation. In Tunis, at the dedication of a new synagog, a portion of the Zohar is recited, just as in the sixteenth century. In Constantinople the Chacham Bashi opposes the rabbinical seminary because educated rabbis will be heretics. Neither synod nor creed nor the Sabbath question were decided by the last convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, for the vote in favor of the traditional Sabbath is, after all, an empty demonstration. The all-absorbing question is that of the political and the economic position of the Jews, and in this respect the Seventh

Zionist Congress, so well attended from the standpoint of quality as of quantity, is a striking evidence. The split which divided the Zion's Zionists from the Territorialists is a serious matter, because it is not proven that the former can do more than the old lovers of Zion, who in twenty-odd years have succeeded in settling about 5,000 colonists in Palestine who still draw considerable sums annually from Uncle Rothschild, and the latter will have to prove that they can do better than Baron Hirsch has done in Argentine—not somewhat better, but so that the "Judenelend" should disappear within some reasonable time.

The matter is so serious that every proposition must be given its opportunity. It view of the critical position of the masses it is encouraging to see that in every civilized country individual Jews have attained high eminence. Prof. Hollander, of Baltimore, has been appointed special commissioner for San Domingo, E. E. von Raalte has been appointed minister of justice in Holland, Matthew L. Moss minister without portfolio in Western Australia, M. Levay was made peer of Hungary, M. Neumann of Austria, two Jewish senators were added to the Italian house of lords, the baronetcy was conferred on Mr. Herbert Stern and the knighthood on Mr. Isidore Spielmann, Mr. James Simon and Mr. Albert Ballin (two of the kaiser's favorites) were decorated with high orders; Auckland and Palmerston, in New Zealand, as well as Cape Town, have Jewish mayors, and Johannesburg, where the Jews up to three years ago were aliens, has Jewish councilmen, the university

of Czernowitz has a Jew as its rector magnificus, and this list is by no means complete, nor could it be without becoming a dry catalog of names and dates.

The large necrology of this year is also a proof of the vast amount of civic and intellectual labor performed by the Jews, even if we limit ourselves to the most important names. In communal workers we lost Haim Guedalla, of London, the champion of the repatriation of the Spanish Jews (October 2d); Lazar Brodsky, the philanthropist of Kiew (September 28th); Willy Bambus, the devoted Zionist (November 4th at Berlin); Frederick David Mocatta, of London, philanthropist, and Maecenas, a man doubly valuable as a proof of the vitality of the Reform element (January 16th); Moritz Simon, of Hanover, the indefatigable worker for the spreading of agriculture among the Jews (January 29th;) Meyer Guggenheim, of New York (March 16th); Alphonse de Rothschild, of Paris (May 26th), and Nathaniel de Rothschild, of Vienna (June 12th), all of whom made noble use of princely fortunes, and Moses A. Dropsie, of Philadelphia (July 8th), who has made the greatest bequest known in history for the cause of Jewish learning.

Of men prominent in public life we lost General Giuseppe Ottolenghi (November 2d), at one time Italian minister of war; Edwin Einstein, former congressman of New York (January 24th); Sir Benjamin Benjamin (March 7th), at one time mayor of Melbourne and member of the legislature; Camille Dreyfus (April 1st), once Frency deputy; Moritz Elstaetter (June 14th), who was for 25 years minister

of finance in Baden, the only Jew who held such an office in Germany; Max Hirsch (June 26th), German parliamentarian and noted political economist, and Tullo Massarani (August 4th), Italian senator.

Of scientific celebrities we lost the historian, Jacob Caro, of Breslau (December 12th), son of a Polish rabbi; Emil Szanto, the philologist, of Vienna (December 14th); Ignatius N. Baxt, of St. Petersburg (December 26th), a noted physiologist who remained true to Judaism under the trying conditions of Russian life; the botanist, Leo Errerra, of Brussels (August 1), and the Assyriologist, Jules Oppert (August 20) were also devoted to the cause of Judaism. Finally we mention the workers for the spiritual cause of Israel the ghetto novelist, Solomon Kohn (November 6th), of Prague; Eude Lolli, of Padua, a relic of Luzzatto's time (December 15th); Hayim Hezekiah Medini, of Hebron (December 2d), the most prolific rabbinical author of our time; Kasriel H. Sarason, of New York (January 12th), the founder of Yiddish journalism in America; E. A. Astruc, formerly rabbi of Brussels (February 23d); E. D. Rabinovitz-Tumim, the coadjutor of the German chief rabbi of Jerusalem (February 8th), who is survived by the nonogenarian whom he was to succeed; Meyer Kayserling, the historian, of Budapest (April 21st); the celebrated historian of the Talmud, Isaac H. Weiss, of Vienna (May 30th), and Joseph Ezekiel, of Bombay (July 1st), the spiritual chief of the Beni Israel community. In this connection we must mention the seventh centenary of the death of Maimonides, and the eighth centenary

of the death of Rashi, the first centenary of the death of Napthali Herz Wesel, the Hebrew poet and worker for spiritual emancipation, the first centenary of the birth of Lord Beaconsfield, who, although a convert to Christianity, is an example of Jewish self-respect, and, finally, the semi-centenary of the Breslau seminary, all of which impress us with the greatness of Israel's history; and when we think especially of Rashi, whose works eight hundred years after his death are still text books for thousands and thousands, we feel that an institution which has outlived so many centuries, and overcome such vicissitudes, will have many, many new years to add to its glorious past.

THE YEAR 5666.*

THE BLOODIEST days in Jewish history have a sequel in the terrifying experiences of the Russian Jews during the past year. Had all lovers of humanity believed that the Kishineff of 1903 was the climax of the provocation which a doomed despotism would dare to offer to civilized humanity, this year disappointed them in their optimism. On October 30 the announcement of a parliamentary form of government was made, and on the following day the so-called Black Hundred, encouraged and assisted by both civil and military authorities, began a regular slaughter of the Jews, especially in the Southern part of the empire. Over two hundred places were affected, thousands were killed, tens of thousands maimed, and hundreds of thousands reduced to misery. The civilized world was seized with horror. Various parliaments, such as the Congress of America, and the parliaments of Hungary, England and Austria, passed resolutions of sympathy with the victims and of condemnation of the outrages. Charity showed itself in its noblest form, even in benevolent Christians like Mr. Carnegie, and in clergymen like the Bishops of Bamberg and Cologne, but naturally the misery could not be properly alleviated. Its cause lies deeper and with genuine horror do we apprehend further acts of barbarism, such as were witnessed in the days of Homel, on January 21; Bialystok, June 14, and Siedlce, Sep-

*The American Israelite, September 20, 1906.

tember 8, and which may be instigated at any time by the desperate Cossack government and its sympathizers in order to maintain an unrestricted autocracy.

Another sore spot on the body of Israel is the condition in Morocco, although by no means as grave as that in Russia. A conference of the powers held last spring in Algeciras discussed the means of establishing order in this mediaeval country. Mr. White, the representative of America, supported by Duke Almadovar del Rios, the representative of Spain, and Marquis Visconti Venosti, the representative of Italy, introduced a resolution that the Jews should be effectively protected by his Sherifian Majesty. This resolution will read well in the proceedings of the conference, while his majesty, even if he did take a genuine interest in the cause of the Jews, could hardly do justice to the wishes of Mr. White, inasmuch as he has his hands full in fighting the pretender, Bu Hamara, who has been utterly routed any number of times in the cable dispatches, but who is still holding his own.

The precarious health of the Shah of Persia and of the Sultan of Turkey is also a matter of great concern to the Jews. In countries where everything depends on the whim of the ruler and where his death is apt to plunge the country into complete anarchy, nobody can tell what may happen in the event of the death of either of these two rulers.

The grave concern which the acts in Russia and the conditions in the other countries mentioned signify for the Jews, overshadows all minor difficulties.

Roumania, for a long time a serious problem for the Jews, has now grown uninteresting. A so-called liberal ministry has succeeded the conservative body, but to the Jews this is of no consequence. It is merely a question which of the two packs of wolves will prey on the treasury, and ingratiate themselves with the masses by harrassing the Jews. Still, it is worthy of mention that Brociner, the administrator of the king's treasury, has been promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel.

More serious seems to be the condition in Bulgaria. This principality appears to be the storm center on the European horizon. At present Greeks and Slavs are fighting there and at any moment their troubles may cause a crisis in European politics. Under such conditions the Jews are apt to suffer, especially as occasional accusations of ritual murder and the unpunished kidnapping of Jewish girls for the sake of baptizing them, justify grave apprehensions in case internal troubles should precipitate disaster.

Egypt, while under English control, is still considerably oriental and an attack on the Jews by the mob, on the occasion of a pilgrimage to Damanhur, while not very serious in its consequences and suppressed promptly, shows that even there, with two hostile factions, the Greek Catholic and the Mohammedan, conditions are not quite satisfactory.

Turning to the countries where civic and political equality are granted to the Jews, we must first mention the 250th anniversary of the settlement of the Jews in America, which was coincident with a similar celebration in England. In both countries the history of the Jews shows a constant advance

in importance and attainments. In America we must mention the various strong expressions of condemnation of the Russian autocracy in Congress by Mr. Sulzer, December 11, Mr. Towne, February 12, and Mr. MacDermott, April 11. It is also very gratifying to know that the restriction on immigration, which would have proved particularly hard for the Russian Jews, was defeated by the efforts of Speaker Cannon, June 25. The appointments and election of Jews to prominent offices are too numerous to be mentioned.

England, the land of freedom, has finally adopted a law restricting immigration. It went into effect January 1st, and while not very rigorously enforced, it still entails hardship on unfortunate fugitives from lands of unbearable tyranny. The present liberal ministry inherited this legislation from its conservative predecessor, and therefore can disclaim all responsibility. There are, however, among the people, very serious indications of anti-semitic feeling, and in Limerick, Ireland, where a Catholic priest two years ago organized a boycott against the Jews, conditions have not improved. The mayor's court still refuses to entertain any claim of a Jewish merchant against a Christian debtor. Occasional attacks in English periodical literature, as well as in books, are also matters which can not be viewed with absolute indifference. It is certainly quite grievous when a radical like Mr. Labouchere makes his paper the mouthpiece of aspersions on the Jews. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the conditions in general are rather satisfactory than otherwise. The government of the Cape Colony has

finally declared that Yiddish shall be considered a European language, so that Jewish immigrants who can read and write that language will not suffer from the restrictions of the educational test. It is further a matter of pride to record that at the last parliamentary election sixteen Jews were returned, of whom twelve are liberals. This is the largest number of Jews ever sitting in the English Parliament and is quite an achievement in view of the fact that it is only forty-eight years since Jews were admitted to the body. Individual honors are also to be mentioned with satisfaction. Sir Herbert Stern has been raised to the peerage, he being the fourth Jew to enjoy that proud distinction. Mr. Benjamin S. Cohen and Mr. Edward Speyer have been raised to the baronetcy. Mr. William Segal has been elected mayor of Kimberley, and Israel Gollancz and Charles Meyers were appointed professors in London University.

Holland, where Jewish affairs are running quite smoothly, has a new member of parliament, Mr. S. van der Bergh, whose brother already is a member of that body.

From Italy we are not accustomed to hear anything exciting. The present Secretary of the Treasury is filling that post for the sixth time. He has received great distinction through a decoration which the Kaiser has bestowed on him. Signor Alessandro d'Ancona, a well known politician and scholar, has been elected mayor of Pisa. Louis Philippson, of Hamburg, was called to the chair of dermatology at the University of Palermo. It is interesting to observe in this connection that since the expulsion

of the Jews from Sicily no congregation has been formed there, and the only Jews living in that country are government officials. It is hard to say whether, if the present Pope permits the Catholics to participate in elections, as he seems inclined to do, antisemitism will not appear in Italy. In a small way it does creep up occasionally, as was the case this year at the municipal election of Monticello d'Ondigno.

France has made decided progress by the promulgation of the law declaring the separation of State and Church, December 9, and the expectations of the clerical party that the government would be defeated in the parliamentary elections were not realized. The policy, inaugurated by M. Combes, evidently has won the approval of the people. It took the Pope fully eight months to come out with a condemnation of that law, in his Encyclical "Gravissimi Officii" of August 10th. The effect of this condition on the status of the Jews is certainly noticeable in the final vindication of Captain Dreyfus, July 12, who was promoted to the rank of major and decorated with the Legion of Honor, July 21. At the parliamentary elections four Jews were returned, among them, Joseph Reinach, who had lost his seat on account of his advocacy of Dreyfus' innocence. Of the numerous appointments of Jews to prominent places, special mention may be made of that of Col. Francfort to the rank of general, and of the appointment of Gen. Naquet-Laroque, as inspector of the entire coast defense.

In Germany Jews have enjoyed full political equality since 1869; still the theory is not sincerely put into practice. The government and its sup-

porters in the conservative ranks consider it their duty to keep the Jews out of official positions. Their sentiments are indicated in a speech made by Herr von Richthofen in the Reichstag, March 15, when he defended the educational policy of the government in the African Colonies. Herr von Richthofen said that the presence of Mohammedans in the African schools was no less reprehensible than the presence of Jews in the mother country. It is not much to be proud of when a fair-minded conservative politician like Herr von Kardorff talks of the possibility of anti-Jewish riots in Germany similar to those of Russia. Nor is the administration of justice in the courts always free from anti-Semitic bias. The statement by a judge in open court that prenuptial relations between a Jew and a Christian woman are a proof of the insanity of the latter, shows that a hymn on "Koschere Justiz," composed by a judge in Breslau and sung by a "society of Christian judges," is more than a convivial joke. Clearer proof of antisemitic inclinations are the cruel expulsions of self-supporting Russian Jews from Prussia, and the school law which reduces the Jewish children to a condition which can only be characterized as toleration.

In Bavaria, where the clericals form the majority in the Diet, agitation against the appointment of Jews as judges and army officers is frequently expressed in the language of the beer-saloon crowd. The prohibition of Shehitah in various communities undoubtedly shows a desire to annoy the Jewish citizens. What antisemitic agitators may do with impunity is illustrated by the crazy Count Pueckler

and the ex-pastor Kroesell. The former, who calls occasionally on the blacksmiths of Berlin to imitate the Black Hundred of Russia, is sentenced to prison for his incendiary speeches. His sentence is commuted to detention in a fortress and he is paroled on account of important business, which leave of absence he utilizes to continue his speech-making in Berlin. Pastor Kroesell published in his sheet a story that the rabbi of Breslau sent by express to the rabbi of Bromberg a Christian boy, bound, gagged, and chloroformed. There is no way of making the courts act in such cases as promptly as they do in any case of Lese Majesty, or in any alleged insult to the army or the government. Still, some individual occurences may be chronicled with satisfaction. Two Jews were elected to the Diet of Baden, and one to each of the diets of Prussia and Hesse. Two Jews were promoted to the rank of Oberlandes gerichsrat in Prussia. For the first time in history a Jew has been appointed Landgerichtsrat in Würtemberg. Mr. Eugene Fuchs was made a member of the board of examiners of judges. Professor Heinrich Silbergleit was placed at the head of the bureau of statistics in Berlin, and Alfred Philippson was made professor of history in Halle.

Conditions in Austria have remained unchanged. The agitation for the extension of the franchise to the Reichstag resulted in attacks on Jews. In Galicia the clergy declared the Jews to be enemies of the Poles for their advocacy of a liberal law. Burgomaster Lueger even went so far as to indicate in an address the possibility that the massacres of Odessa might be repeated in the Austrian capital,

while his followers shamed the country and the civilization of the twentieth century by using the vilest language against the Jews. It is really comical when one of them says that religious toleration has gone too far in Austria. Some noble minded people have made attempts to vindicate poor Hilsner, who has been in prison for seven years for a supposed ritual murder, of which he is entirely innocent. The antisemites at once raised the cry of a Jewish syndicate and have succeeded in cowing the government. On the Jewish side these conditions have created some ridiculous demands, like that of a national Jewish autonomy.

Hungary has passed through a severe crisis and the new ministry is uniting the various political parties, who are in favor of Hungarian independence, and in spite of the fact that the clericals are represented by two members in the new cabinet, the Austrian antisemites always speak of the Judaeo-Magyar alliance. On the other hand, it is to be recorded with satisfaction that the new parliament contains twenty-three Jewish members, the highest number ever found in any parliament. The difficulties created for Austria by the affiliation with Hungary are, to some extent, duplicated in the relations between Hungary and Croatia. In the latter country, where Jews are not very numerous, antisemitic sentiment seems to be growing and for the first time in many years the Croatian parliament has no Jewish member, the only candidate for election having been defeated.

The difficulties in Russia have resulted in great interest in the plans for colonization. The Zionists

have, so it seems, given up their former aversion to colonization without charter. The orthodox of Austria and Hungary have formed a society, Schlaum Hoir, for the advancement of the interests of the orthodox colonists. Somewhat original is the scheme for colonizing an island in the Parana River, in Paraguay, which savors somewhat humorously of Mordecai M. Noah's "state" on Great Island in the Niagara River. Of more tangible value is the endorsement of the Ito by Lord Selborne and other prominent Jews and non-Jews. In this connection the attempt of regaining the Falashas, in Abyssinia, may be mentioned. The beginnings of this mission work are small, but at least two young men are being educated in the Alliance School at Paris. The reform community in Paris has not yet materialized and the Mekize Nirdamim Society for the publication of old Hebrew works had to be abandoned.

On the other hand, we point with proud satisfaction to the numerous philanthropic activities by men in the Jewish fold, but to mention all the important donations would be impossible. Merely as specimens of their distribution and their catholicity, we record a donation of $50,000, by Mr. James S. Speyer, of New York, for an American chair in the University of Berlin; of 3,000,000 Marks by Julius Schottlaender, of Breslau, for various charitable purposes; of 2,000,000 Francs by M. Raphael Bishoffsheim, of Paris, for educational purposes; of 500,000 Marks by Mr. Herschel of Mannheim, for a public bath; of 500,000 Crowns by Mr. Philipp Hertz, of Lipto Szt. Miklos, a man who was certainly not as wealthy as Russell Sage, of New York.

JUDAISM IN 5668.*

REVIEWING the history of this year from the point of view of the events in Judaism, makes one feel what Isaiah must have felt when he said that "it shall come to pass in that day that the glory of Jacob shall be made thin." With deep humiliation must we admit how little our great grandfathers could have believed in the realization of such a prophecy when the French Revolution first emancipated the Jews.

Fortunately we the citizens of the free republic of the United States enjoy the liberty to worship God according to the dictates of our conscience. Still we can not enjoy the satisfaction that this theory, laid down by the fathers of this country, is a reality in the minds of the vast majority of our non-Jewish fellow-citizens when it is a question of applying it to the Jews. Scarcely a week passes without some symptoms of anti-Jewish feeling coming to our notice in the newspapers, in addresses by prominent people, in utterances of officials, or of men of prominent social standing, and finally in acts of social snobbery. What an amount of ugly comment has been passed on the action of certain Jews in New York, who desired to do away with the sectarian character of the Christmas celebration in public schools! Loudest of all were naturally the Protestant ministers and the organizations who hide their un-American tendencies under the mask of patriotism, some of whom protested

*The American Israelite, September 24, 1908.

against what they called the "Hebrew dictating to us in our public schools." Even the Catholics, who bitterly oppose the reading of the Bible and the so-called non-sectarian religious exercises in the public schools, felt on this occasion the necessity of "admonishing our people to watch the Jew."

Another outbreak of antisemitic feelings is the constantly repeated charge of criminality against the Jews. Mr. William H. Corbin, in an address before the Chenango County Society of New York, spoke of the Jews in almost Russian fashion as "crowding the schools and high schools, ready to work at the most menial tasks with inherited sense of want and necessity but with low ideals and practice." This address was ably refuted by Louis Marshall, but unfortunately we are not optimistic enough to believe that such refutations, strong as they are, strike home where they ought to. The terrible conflagration at Chelsea, Mass., gave opportunity for a minister of the gospel to charge the Jews with responsibility for this fire, although it has never been proven up to this day that it was of incendiary origin nor that a Jew was responsible for it, while it is beyond doubt that the vast majority of the Jewish inhabitants of Chelsea were heavy losers in this calamity. The attempt on the life of the Chicago chief of police by Lazarus Auerbach, a young Russian Jew, was another signal for the outcry against the Russian Jew as a habitual criminal and especially as an enemy of social order and indirectly against the Jew as a citizen. The facts in the case were best characterized by that noble humanitarian, Jane Addams, when she said: "The old

antisemitic feeling held sway, encouraged and sustained by the sense that to indulge in it was to put down anarchy." The unfortunate boy's lips, which alone could have testified in his own behalf, are closed, but the feeling will not be quieted that he was a victim of either cunning or of a misunderstanding. Yet the feeling against the Jew as an anarchist has again been aroused by the terrible crime of Springfield, Ill. In the home of Lincoln, negroes were killed, robbed and hounded out of the city. It took a large mob to do this dastardly work, which is a disgrace to American civilization. But again here the Jew seems to be picked out for a scapegoat. The chief of police claims that Abraham Raymer, a Russian boy, was one of the ring leaders. At this moment it is impossible to say whether or not the charge is based on fact, but one thing is certain that the statement of the chief of police that the trouble was due to "green foreigners" is intended to shield the American element of the population, while, if anything, negro lynching is certainly a genuine American product.

Compared with this it seems small to point to the constantly repeated insults to respectable Jews, found in such advertisements as that of a summer resort which announced, "No Hebrews or people with pulmonary troubles entertained," or of the "Catskill Evening Line," that "Dogs and Jews are not admitted" to some of the hotels in the mountains. Nor would it seem of much consequence when in an aristocratic apartment house in New York, owned by William Waldorf Astor, "Jews are not accepted as

tenants." In this particular case it would appear as if the indignation of the Jews was directed to the wrong address. It is certainly a matter of complete indifference to Mr. Astor who pays him interest on his investments, so long as this investment is profitable. He lives in England and the American dollar coming from a Jew has as little odor to him as a denar derived from the sewer tax had to Vespasian, the inventor of the first "Jew tax." The rule adopted by the administrator of the Astor real estate can only tell against a certain class of high-toned American citizens. Nor would the remarks of J. C. Van Dyke who accuses the Jews of "commercializing law and medicine" and thus places himself on one level with his colleagues in the universities of Germany of the type of Treitschke and de Lagarde, mean very much. It is very serious, however, when a man in the position of the New York commissioner of police or when a judge on the bench, like Judge Dike in Brooklyn makes a statement to the effect that two-thirds of the law-breakers are Jews. (1) Neither of these gentlemen has in any way given us information of how he arrived at such statistics, inasmuch as the police entries do not specify the religion of the people arrested or convicted, nor has he proven that such misdemeanors as the killing of a chicken on Sunday, for which a New York Shochet was recently arrested, are excluded and separately accounted. In countries where there are available exact statistics of the religion of criminals, like Austria and Germany, such figures have always proven that the Jew makes a rather favorable showing in the criminal statistics

and that at all events he is not worse than others of his class, occupation, and education. It is highly improbable that the Jew of America should in this respect differ from his co-religionists in other countries.

The only political question in American Jewish affairs, is the old question of the passports of American citizens of the Jewish persuasion. The American government has in this respect always been yielding to an injustice done to her citizens by Russia. Although both great parties have in their last platforms declared themselves in favor of the only logical interpretation of treaty rights which demand that all American citizens shall be treated equally, Russia continues to disregard the rights of American Jewish citizens. Three years ago the writer of this review had such an experience. Assistant Secretary of State Alvey A. Adee at that time said that negotiations were in progress which would settle the question but these negotiations have not only not led to any satisfactory result, but our department of state even went so far as to issue a circular in which it was stated that former Russian sujects and Jews can not enter Russia without special permission from the Russian government. This circular, issued March 28, 1907, was upon protest in Congress and upon proof of its illegality, withdrawn January 25, 1908. The main point, however, is that such a circular could have been issued by an administration elected on a party platform, which had pledged itself to an act of justice which ought to be self evident. It is small consolation that other countries adopted the same invertebrate policy with regard to their Jewish citizens.

The government of Bavaria accommodated Russia in so far as to enter the religion on passports issued to Jews, while this is not done on passports issued to other citizens. This practice was discontinued upon the protest of the Jews, but the matter is by no means changed. In Prussia the Oppeln Chamber of Commerce complained that German Jewish merchants traveling in Russia were discriminated against. The minister coolly replied that as long as it can not be proven that Russia treated Jewish citizens of other countries differently, he can not provide any remedy.

While the legal position of the Jews in all of Western Europe and in all civilized countries of other continents is and has been for many years clearly defined as one of absolute equality with their fellow-citizens, the practice is considerably different. Germany may in this respect be mentioned in the first place. A judge in Frankfurt am Main said in the court room to a Jewish witness who refused to sign his testimony on the Sabbath: "You Jews demand all rights but do not wish to comply with the law of the state." The remark was certainly improper, as the Jew was in this case not an official who refused to do his duty, and the superior court decided in this sense. The court in Berlin decided a libel case which is very typical. A visitor to a Berlin exposition had been refused a certain request by a Jewish employe. He wrote a letter to the management of the exposition in which he complained of improper treatment by a "youth of Hebrew descent." The young man referred to sued for libel, but the court decided that by this remark the plaintiff was only characterized and

not insulted. At a teachers' convention in Posen the principal of a gymnasium spoke of the Jews as lacking in the love of home. A complaint was lodged with the minister of education who decided that there was no cause for action on his part. One can not wonder under these conditions that men and societies, not being under restraint by their position, express these sentiments in stronger words. Thus the German National Association of Clerks issued a campaign document in which they said that a Jew born in Germany was no more a German than a donkey born in the Fatherland. Unfortunately it appears that even liberal politicians, while theoretically opposed to all discriminations on the ground of religion, are in practice not free from anti-Jewish bias. A strong case in point is the recent defeat of Dr. Landmann as candidate for the office of mayor of Mannheim, although he was admitted to be the most logical man for the place.

Events in France which are treated further along indicate the still prevailing feeling in spite of the undeniable victory of liberalism, by the undisturbed carrying out of the policy of separation of state and church.

To speak of Austria in this connection would be impossible, for Austrian antisemitism is simply the record of the history of the Jews of that country during the past year. It would be necessary to write a chronicle of the transactions in the Reichsrat in the diet of Lower Austria, in the city council of Vienna and a good deal of the public business transacted in other parts of the country, were we to give

an adequate presentation of its antisemitism. It is, however, to the point to note two small incidents in the Transvaal colony which show that European colonization brings in the wake of its civilizing influences antisemitism into newly opened territories. From Johannesburg comes the report that Jews are insulted on street cars and from Pretoria the news is reported that the Boers at a convention passed a resolution censuring the government for employing Jews in the postal and telegraph service. The fact of the matter is that Jews living in isolated rural districts and mining camps as storekeepers act without remuneration in the service of the postal telegraph department by forwarding letters and telegrams to the nearest station and thus are performing a service to the government. (2.)

The Jews in countries where what we call medieval conditions prevail and are still prevailing seem to face a grave crisis. In Morocco just now the victory of the pretender Mulai Hafid over his brother, the legitimate sultan, Abdul Asis, seems to be decided, although telegraphic reports from this part of the globe are never quite reliable, and by the time that this review appears in print things may have changed entirely. To the Jews this change would hardly be of consequence. The pretender has levied a tax of one-third of the value of houses owned by the Jews in the district which he occupied with his troops; the legitimate sultan would have done likewise if he could The troops of the pretender butchered the Jews of Statt; those of the legitimate sultan did the same thing in individual instances. The establishment of

peace and order seems now further away than a year ago, when it appeared almost certain that France would protect Morocco as it has been doing with Tunis for the last twenty-seven years. A European administration is the only safeguard for the Jews of Morocco and their only hope of escape from the conditions of barbarous oppression under which they are living now as they have been living ever since there has been any record of their history in that country. Similarly unsettled are the conditions in Persia. The Shah does not know where to turn, Russia and England are watching each other jealously, lest one power gain a stronger influence than the other, and meantime the country is torn by internal strife. The unsafety of life and property to which the Persian Jews have been habituated from the days of Haman continues as heretofore and is reaching a rather critical stage owing to the fact that in every internal disorder the Jew is the first sufferer. Turkey has since July fourteenth a constitutional form of government. Here Jews had no reason to complain of any hostile treatment on the part of the government. They were rather favorites of the sultan, for they possessed the least political ambition of his majesty's subjects. They did not conspire like the Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians and Albanese; they did not attempt to establish an independent country like the Arabs, and they were far safer as taxpayers than the Kurds. It may be that this change will affect them considerably, and especially will this be the case in Palestine. It is hardly possible that a well-ordered government will allow generations of Jews, grown up

in the country, to remain foreign subjects, while, on the other hand, commercial and industrial activity as well as agricultural development, will undoubtedly progress. The Alliance Israelite, and in Palestine the Zionist organizations and the German Hilfsverein are each contributing a share to the preparation for better times in these lands of oppression, although the effects of education on the economic status will not so readily be noticeable.

The agrarian revolts in Roumania, which, in March, 1907, brought such misery upon the Jews, were quelled by the government, which is a government of and for the landed proprietors, but the policy of these Bojars to divert the attention of their victims from the real source of their trouble by alllowing them the pastime of persecuting the Jews, is continuing. The most typical case was the trial of Colonel Marasescu, who had treated Jewish soldiers with a brutality worthy of a Spanish conquistador, having given orders to strip them naked in the presence of the whole company and to beat them into insensibility. There was not the slightest excuse nor any provocation for this act of brutality, so that even the minister of war condemned it, still the case against this fiend was dismissed by the court of Jassy, February 28. Under these conditions it is somewhat surprising that Prof. Jorga, an antisemitic politician, advocated a special tax to be imposed upon the Jews in lieu of military service. The suggestion was hardly meant seriously, for, as another antisemitic politician, A. C. Cuza, plainly confessed, the policy of his party with regard to the Jews must be one of "blood and fraud."

In Russia, government by execution and imprisonment, as it is now successfully carried on by Mr. Stolypin, means to the Jews the abandonment of all hope of an improvement of their condition. If there were any doubts as to the views of the heads of the administration, the trial of the rioters at the various pogroms would dispel it. The most typical of these was the trial of the Bialystok rioters, which began June 8, and resulted—after weeks of tedious proceedings, made interesting by the efforts of the prosecutor to suppress all evidence of guilt of the officials—in the dismissal of most of the accused, while the few who were convicted received ridiculously light sentences and were promptly pardoned by the Czar. The league of the Black Hundred frankly claimed this fact as the proof that its views are those of the court. One must not forget that at these massacres in a provincial town seventy-eight Jews were killed, and that the same government which pardoned these assassins mercilessly executes one who attacks a policeman or robs a postoffice. The administration policy of the government is in full harmony with these principles. Without previous warning the Jews of Wladiwostok were expelled on four days' notice, and only to property holders two more weeks were granted. The reason for this order is said to have been an adverse criticism of Secretary Taft on the fortifications of the harbor, and, as somebody had to be blamed for it, the Jews were expelled. The restrictions on the right of residence are enforced with a zeal which excels that of von Plehve. Jewish laborers working for the canning houses in the fishing

industry at Astrachan are expelled. The health resorts of the Caucasus are closed to Jews, and only after a discussion in the Duma exceptions are made under humiliating and aggravating conditions. From Moscow even those are expelled who were left undisturbed when Grand Duke Sergius was governor. The percentage of school attendance is restricted to the status which existed previous to 1905, and the law proclaiming liberty of conscience which a gullible American press greeted with an outburst of enthusiasm is a dead letter. When the rabbi of St. Petersburg wanted directions for the reconversion of Jews who had converted to Christianity, he was told that the details would have to be settled later. Needless to say, they are not settled yet. At the same time this government takes great interest in the spiritual welfare of the Jews and announces the convocation of a rabbinical conference, for which preparations are already being made by conventions of the rabbis of various provinces. That in a country like Russia the courts are merely part of the government's machinery is manifested by the wholesale executions, and the Jews are made to feel this fact. The senate, the Russian supreme court, works heels over head in construing daily the old laws in the narrowest possible sense. One Jew, in order to escape the constant persecution by the authorities, becomes a Protestant, and so his Christian faith should protect him from annoyances by the police. But far from it! The senate finds that as long as his wife is not converted to Christianity, he is only half a Christian, and only a full Christian may live outside of the Pale. A Jewish

student has under great difficulties obtained the right to matriculate at the University of St. Petersburg or Kiev or Charkov. The parents rejoiced and moved to the same place to keep house for him, but the senate says, that while children are part of the household of the parents, the rule does not work the other way. One Jew has under great difficulties obtained a diploma as a master mechanic, but he is not a member of the guild and of course is excluded from living outside of the Pale. The Duma takes the hint and passes a resolution demanding that the diplomas granted by technical schools should not entitle the holder to the privileges of a master mechanic. Finally one master mechanic succeeds in living undisturbed in one of the prohibited cities and employs a townsman or a relative in his shop. The poor fellow is honestly working at his trade, but the senate decided that he is a laborer, not possessing a certificate, and his Jewish master can not employ him. A Jewish manufacturer paying the highest rate of taxes may live outside of the Pale and may employ Jewish clerks. But it so happens that a Jew is president of a stock company engaged in manufacture. The senate decides that a corporation is not an individual and, therefore, can not employ Jewish clerks. The Duma is the last place from which the Jews could expect any relief. There are two Jewish members in this body, while the first Duma had twelve, but aside from the fact that they are powerless and that the reactionaries are in the majority, even the liberals do not intend risking their popularity by working for justice to the Jews. A socialist who tried to discuss the disabilities

of the Jews was called to order. The reactionaries clamor against the slightest concessions, and like their Roumanian sympathizers they demand that the Jews be excluded from the army and be subjected to a special tax instead. A typical incident, illustrating the sentiment of the Duma, is the following: A restaurant keeper, a man of blameless political record, something which is not easily obtained in Russia, 72 years old, and having the title of a privy councilor, was asked by a governor who visited his place why he did not keep one of the reactionary newspapers. He promptly replied that he did not do so because he condemned the policy of violence and hatred. For this unpatriotic view he was expelled. The case was brought before the Duma and the latter approved the governor's action.

Without denying that the condition of the Russian Jews might be considered an ideal one, if it could be brought up to the level of their coreligionists in Austria, the latter country affords strong proof of the difficulty to overcome by legislation the effects of centuries of tyranny, both ecclesiastical and political. It has already been stated that it would require a volume of abstracts from the proceedings of parliamentary bodies and city councils in order to record all anti-Jewish speeches, resolutions, and acts. How far things may go under a constitutional government is best proven by the brutal killing of the Jewish recruit, Michael Herschkowitz, by his sergeant. The Austrian secretary of war, when the matter was brought up in the Reichsrat, declared it to be a case of cold-blooded murder, but the criminal escaped with a light sentence. While here the desire of main-

taining military discipline may have acted as an excuse for such a miscarriage of justice, some of the speeches in parliament indicated a purely Russian spirit. A Christian socialist member introduced a resolution which demanded the restriction of the number of Jewish students in accordance with their proportion to the population. The resolution was defeated by a vote of 162 to 205. It is natural that in such a parliament a clear violation of international treaty rights, when the victim was a Jew, would be condoned. The engineer, Benno Kohn, an Austrian subject, employed in a mine in Prussia, was expelled from the country for no other reason than that he was a Jew. The matter was discussed in the Reichsrat but received no majority although the Poles out of hatred for Prussia voted for a censure of the government, but the minister declared just as in the case of the Russian passports, that as long as Prussia treated all foreign Jews alike, he could not protest against the decision. One is moved to wonder that in such a parliament blood accusations should not be discussed. Indeed, the Reichsrat did not miss such an opportunity for disgracing itself in the history of twentieth century civilization. A feeble-minded Christian boy of Zwittau, sent on an errand, lost his way and died in the woods from exposure. There was no sign of any violent death, nor was any Jew connected with the matter at all, but the party which calls itself Christian took this opportunity of bringing the matter into the Reichsrat in the form of an interpellation, with the only object in view to have the newspapers print it without incurring a libel suit. Very amusing is the fact that the Jews were brought

into a controversy on two occasions with which they had nothing to do, save as indirect victims. The Vienna burgomaster, Karl Lueger, in spite of his infirmity still the recognized leader and the brains of the clerical party, addressed a Catholic convention in Vienna and in the course of his remarks, evidently forgetting his usual prudence, said: "We have conquered the elementary schools but we shall not stop until we have conquered the universities." The only possible interpretation of these words was that the universities were to be conducted in a clerical spirit. When, however, these words had elicited protests from Austrian universities regardless of nationality and from students, professors and politicians, including those of antisemitic convictions, the words of Lueger were interpreted to have been directed aginst the Jews, because there were actually seven Jews, three of whom were not baptized, appointed as professors at the Vienna University. This cheap excuse did not work, and the insincerity of it soon became manifest. Ludwig Wahrmund, professor of ecclesiastic law at the University of Innsbruck, delivered a lecture, later on published in pamphlet form, in which he attacked the main dogmas of the Catholic Church. Wahrmund was at one time a candidate on the Christian socialist ticket; his father, a professor at the University of Vienna, is an antisemitic author, but in spite of all that he was attacked as a Jew because, so the clerical leaders said, only a man of Jewish blood could have exhibited such a hatred of the Catholic Church. As he possessed the sympathy of the German nationalists, who are anticlerical, he could not be removed from his position, while a Jewish professor

suffered this fate for a much lighter offense. Sigmund Feilbogen, professor at a commercial academy of Vienna, was in Rome on Easter Sunday and visited the Sistine Chapel, together with his wife and his sister-in-law. Receiving the sacrament from the hands of the Pope, the sister-in-law for some unexplained reason is said to have taken the holy wafer out of her mouth. As according to the Catholic Church, the consecrated wafer is the body of Jesus, such an act is a sacrilege and a hundred years ago the lady would have made atonement for it at the stake. As Rome, however, is not under papal government and as the world has adopted somewhat more civilized methods in dealing with criminals, the effect of the case was that Prof. Feilbogen was discharged. He is said, however, meantime to have converted to Catholicism and perhaps there will be the rejoicing attendant upon the repentance of the one sinner as against the ninety-nine righteous people, and Prof. Feilbogen will get another job. Quite a number of his fellow-countrymen are taking matters by the forelock and the list of apostates in Vienna will reach a record number this year. In spite of all this the Catholic Church is still hungry for souls, and in Galicia the kidnapping of young girls and their detention in monasteries is a matter so frequent that our American coreligionists take such little notice of it that they prefer a convent to the best and most intelligently conducted secular institution, for the education of their daughters.

The advanced age of Emperor Francis Joseph is bound to fill the Austrian statesmen with great apprehensions. It is possible enough that the rupture

between Austria and Hungary, which seemed imminent two years ago, may take place when the aged emperor leaves this world. For the present the somewhat unnatural union between Hungarian clericals and liberals, cemented under great difficulties, still lasts, but there are no Jewish affairs of consequence to be recorded. The Jewish congregations continue to have their internal fights, and on the other hand the leading Jews, backed by the Magyar politicians, including the clerical minister of education and worship, Count Apponyi, are making strenuous efforts to bring about a union of all Jewish congregations, regardless of their religious differences. This union, desired by the Magyars in order to bring the Jews over to their cause and by the Jewish politicians in order to obtain political influence, is strongly opposed by the Orthodox, in spite of the fact that Count Apponyi declared himself strongly in favor of such a union, when he received a Jewish committee, February 11. The country at large shows the same wide differences which the Jewish communities show. As the latter have Jews of modern culture, authors, artists, and satesmen, while in some parts of the country the "Wunderrabbi" still has a great following, so Hungary has in spite of all the liberalism of her leading statesmen, occasionally blood accusations and mob riots, but her steady progress is beyond doubt.

By their language the Magyars and the Finns are related and together with the Turks form philologically an isolated tribe among the European nationalities. As Finland is an independent state

under the rule of the Czar of Russia, so Hungary is an independent state under the rule of the Austrian emperor. Otherwise as far as Jewish affairs are concerned there is no comparison. Finland has guarded her Swedish traditions, forgotten in Sweden since 1870, and has adopted the Russian policy of discrimination against the Jews. Under various subterfuges and unavoidable exceptions which all inhuman laws carry with them, some Jews have found a home in Finland although the law of March 29, 1889, prohibits their residence in the country, as was the case in all of Sweden up to the end of the eighteenth century. Under the new order of things which reestablished Finnish autonomy, the Jews hoped and are still hoping to enjoy the liberty which the Finns demand for themselves. It seems, however, that the Finns, Protestant Christians though they are, do not care to live up to the rule that one should do to others as he wishes that others should do unto him. In this predicament the Jews of Finland sent a committee of three to wait on George Brandes. the famous Danish author, requesting him to use his strong influence in their behalf. He answered evasively, and only the complaint of these three men in the press at his unkind attitude drew him out. He pleaded in the "Frankfurter Zeitung" the cause of his coreligionists but declared at the same time that the word coreligionists was a misnomer in his case. He does not desire to be known as a Jew, he is even irritated at the fact that the Finnish papers flatteringly referred to him as a strong argument against the cruel laws discriminating against the Jews. He declares that

whatever he may be, least of all is he a Jew, and yet he is a lineal descendant of an orthodox rabbi.

Germany is further strong evidence of the fact that constitutional liberty neither does away with popular prejudice nor does it mean enforcement of organized principles in practice. The Reichstag twice discussed the fact that no Jew has for years been appointed an officer in the army. While those who serve their year as volunteers are in many cases appointed officers in the reserve, this distinction is denied to Jews and only the Bavarian contingent, over which the prince regent of Bavaria has unlimited authority, is an exception. It was pointed out in the Reichstag that it was absolutely impossible that of the many Jews who serve in the army, not one should have been considered good enough to be made an officer, but the secretary of war replied that he knew of no rule discriminating against the Jews. Shortly afterwards the newspapers reported that an imperial order had been issued condemning the discrimination against the Jews. The matter was later on corrected: the rule was merely meant to protect the Catholic interests because a young officer had been forced to resign on account of his conversion from Protestantism to Roman Catholicism. Catholics who control 105 out of 397 votes in the Reichstag are a power, Jews are not. It may be safely assumed that the emperor, in spite of his religious liberalism, which he repeatedly manifested by his sympathy for Harnack and Delitzsch, and in spite of his personally friendly relations to some Jewish financiers, is in sympathy with the policy which strengthens the military spirit.

Of political conditions in the various states of Germany, the debate on antisemitism in the diet of the Grand Duchy of Hesse deserves notice. This state is the hotbed of antisemitism. About eighteen years ago, when this movement made itself strongly felt, the government tried in various ways to check its progress. Church and school authorities used their influence against it, and the minister of state warned all state officials against participation in this agitation. This circular, issued in 1892, is a thorn in the side of the antisemites, and it seems that the Jews themselves do not consider it of any value. The government, however, refused to accede to the demand for its repeal because this might be interpreted as a change of policy. In Prussia, where antisemitism is, if not coddled, at least treated with considerable delicacy by the authorities, a member of the upper house complained of the scandalous affairs at the seashore resort of Borkum, where antisemites have been in the habit of insulting every Jewish visitor in order to keep Jews away from the island. The minister of the interior, von Moltke, declared that he condemned such rudeness. Still this official expression will hardly have great effect. There can be no doubt that prohibitions of Shehitah, which are possible owing to the fact that each city has a right to establish its own abattoir and make it compulsory for butchers to have the killing of animals done there, are inspired by the desire to annoy the Jews. Such prohibitions have occurred in various Prussian cities and in some small German states. Even little Schaumburg, of whose existence on the map only

specialists in geography have any knowledge, found it necessary to protect her oxen against inhuman treatment on the part of the Jews, while the small German states in the south, like Bavaria and Würtemberg, have in this respect exhibited a strong regard for Jewish sentiment, refusing to entertain any suggestions to restrict the religious liberty of their Jewish citizens. In Bavaria, where the clericals have the majority, there is manifest desire to show an interest in the protection of the Jewish religion. Clerical members of the Bavarian diet, advocated legal provision in the interest of the Orthodox minorities of the large congregations like Munich and Nuremberg and a state subsidy for the Jewish normal school at Würzburg, an appropriation from the funds of the state for teachers of Jewish religion in the public schools. The government, while not ready to grant these requests, considers it its duty to protect religious interests and an order which defines the mutual relations of rabbi and Hazan in Zweibrucken is somewhat comically suggestive of the patriarchal time of autocracy some eighty years ago, when old King Ludwig, the deeply religious friend of Lola Montez, was graciously pleased to indorse a German translation of the Jewish prayerbook.

Even Prussia, which always maintained the traditional policy of not interfering with internal Jewish affairs, a policy which was not carried out consistently when the liberal movement in the synagogue was to be kept down, has of late shown an interest in promoting Jewish education. The new school law issued July 28, 1906, which went into effect April 1,

1908, provides for state subsidy for Jewish schools. This of course was not done in the interest of the Jews, but rather with a desire to make a display of fairness when the school system was remodeled to suit the clericals of both Christian churches. In this way it is rendered easier to insist on the Christian character of the public schools.

In England, the liberal government of Mr. Balfour, which came into power right after the enactment of the anti-alien legislation, does not seem to be unwilling to accept the heritage of its conservative predecessor. There can be no doubt that the movement against alien immigration is chiefly directed against Russian Jews. The liberal government with Mr. Gladstone as home secretary, continues to carry out the provisions of this law which the liberals denounced when they were in the minority. Mr. Winston Churchill, when appointed to a place in the cabinet, had to seek re-election in North Manchester. The Jewish voters of his district asked him for his views on the change of anti-alien legislation. He expressed himself as favoring this law and was defeated. The conservatives used this opportunity of interpellating the government on its attitude towards such a departure from the policy inaugurated by the conservatives, but received only evasive replies. It is evident that even the liberal government is afraid of losing its popularity by expressing itself in favor of the liberal treatment of aliens. The Sunday closing bill, although not passed, seems to have good chances and the exceptions in favor of Sabbath observing Jews are not receiving very strong support. The British Jews had

the proud privilege of celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the admission of the Jews to Parliament and they may indeed look back upon this half century with just pride. No Parliament elected during this period was without Jews, there having served thirty-four members of the Jewish community in the House of Commons and five were members of the House of Lords. The present Parliament holds the record, having four Jews in the upper house and sixteen in the lower house.

Another semi-centenary which was not duly commemorated was that of the kidnapping of Edgar Mortara, who as a child of six years was, by order of Pope Pius IX, taken from the house of his parents in Bologna and educated as a Catholic. He is a monk of the Augustine Order now, and has occasionally made himself heard in this country as well as in Europe, blaming Providence for the crime committed by Pius IX in the name of Christianity. Who knows whether or not this abominable deed will be counted as one item of the reasons for the beatification of the first infallible Pope. The Jews of Italy have good reason to look back with satisfaction on the last half century, when in the very Rome where such a crime was ordered, the Jew, Ernest Nathan, was elected mayor of the Eternal City. In other ways Italy shows the traits of what is considered the ideal in countries and in women. It is the best country for the Jews from which least is to be reported. France, the first country which gave to the Jews full civic and political equality, now has a liberal government. Separation of state and church is being carried out

consistently; the monastery in the Rue de Sevres, where St. Expeditus, the result of a misunderstood remark on an express package, and Our Lady of Easy Deliverance were worshipped, was closed without precipitating any revolution. St. Expeditus, although not recognized in the calendar of saints, may have found another shrine, and there can be no doubt but that the spirit which made such worship popular, continues in spite of the literary activity of Father Loisy, the infidel who, in spite of his excommunication, still considers himself a good Catholic priest. Two instances in the chamber, when the brothers, Joseph and Theodore Reinach, were insulted, show just as did the attempt on the life of Major Dreyfus, that the spirit which created the Dreyfus affair has not died out. A strange confirmation of a psychological observation made by the ancient rabbis is presented in the case of the ensign, Benjamin Ullmo, convicted of high treason. The rabbis say that Jacob would not accept any consolation after the supposed death of Joseph because we could not accept consolation after a fictitious loss. Thus the real treason of Ullmo passed by without any considerable effect, while the false accusation against Dreyfus shook the country for years to its foundation. Of the French colonies, Tunis is of great interest in Jewish affairs. The country is a protectorate, nominally under a native ruler, practically a French colony. The Jews there are subject to the obsolete laws of the rabbinical codes and to the whims of the native Tunisian tribunals. Quite a number of them are men with European culture. They demand a change

but the French administration is afraid of arousing the enmity of the Mohammedan element, as was the case in Algeria. It seems that, warned by the effects of the edict, issued by Cremieux in 1870, which gave to the Jews of Algeria the rights of citizens, the government will move more slowly in the case of the Tunisian Jews, but a remedy is looked for with certainty.

The growth of antisemitism and particularly the Dreyfus affair, seriously impeded religious progress There can be no doubt that Reform was considered useless from the point of view of bringing about a closer union of Jews and liberal Christians and the chauvinistic principles of Zionism contributed to this development. If the signs of the times are read aright, the prospects are beginning to look more favorable just now. In Paris the "Union Liberale Israelite" opened a synagog with Sunday services, December 1st, 1907; the Jews of the Grand Duchy of Baden, where the Orthodox won an overwhelming victory at the last election to the synod, March 15, 1908, formed a liberal union, and so did the Jews of Bavaria in Nuremberg, when a concession had to be made to the Orthodox of Munich, and in May a liberal union of the Jews of Germany was founded in Berlin.

The great political change which has come over Turkey will undoubtedly affect the prospects of Zionism, although it is too early to say in which sense this will be the case. The movement places on record two very important events. The one is rather unfavorable. A London court decided, May

4, that the constitution of the National Fund can not be changed so as to be made exclusively applicable to the acquisition of territory in Palestine. The suit was occasioned by the Ito, founded in 1905, when the project of acquiring land in East Africa was voted down at the congress of Basle, by the majority of Zionists who wanted Palestine or nothing, and the administration desired to express this will in the constitution. Zangwill in the name of the Territorialists, opposed it in order that the National Fund might be made available for any other territory, and he actually won this important victory. The second event of importance is the visit of David Wolffsohn to St. Petersburg, July 10th, where he was received by Premier Stolypin and by Iswolski, the minister of justice. Considering the difficulties in securing the admission of foreign Jews into Russia, this is no small achievement, although Wolffsohn being a native of Russia, may perhaps still be a Russian subject and travel on a Russian passport. What effect this event will have on the development of Zionism nobody can say before an authentic report of the audience shall have been given. For the present it does not seem that the restrictions on Zionist propaganda have been removed. The Territorialists who represent the heretical wing of Zionism have made no tangible progress, although an expedition is under way for the purpose of exploring some country, intended to be the much-desired autonomous Jewish colony. Zangwill was very guarded in his address, but it seems that the promised land is south of Morocco, where, if we are not mistaken, the Vienna journalist, Theodore

Hertzka, in 1890, tried to establish a co-operative commonwealth, which, however, failed. Mr. Zangwill has a perfect right to be given the benefit of the doubt until his plans are brought out distinctly before the public.

Colonization in Palestine is meantime progressing, and a new and valuable element has made its appearance in a colony founded by the warlike Jews of the Caucasian mountains. The old colonies, however, are not beyond the stage of experiment and their success is by no means assured. The report of the J. C. A. shows progress in Argentina, and while this report may be colored, it seems beyond any doubt that the population of the colonies is increasing, as is the prosperity of the older settlers. Still, as a solution of the Jewish problem, it is of no consequence whether since August 10, 1891, when Baron de Hirsh bought the first tract of land from the Argentine republic, ten to fifteen thousand Jews were settled in the country or not. The same lack of success must be deplored in the attempt to establish agricultural colonies in the United States. The serious strike of the students of the school at Woodbine, N. J., is hardly suggestive of favorable prospects, if success is to be understood, not in the sense of leading some Jews to agricultural pursuits, but in the sense of depleting the Ghetto and counteracting the evils of the sweat-shop. It is too early to decide whether the movement to lead the mass of the Jewish immigrants to Galveston in order to drain the crowded settlements on the Atlantic seashore will have an appreciable effect. The question has two sides, as the large Jewish settle-

ments no doubt mean considerable political weight and create avenues of support which are only possible in large cities.

It is manifestly impossible and beyond the range of this review to give several hundreds of titles of books of Jewish interest that have been published during the last year. The difficulty is increased by the fact that but few of these books are published with Hebrew dates, and it can not be said which books bearing the dates of 1907 should be noticed here. Of general interest are only two works published in that time. They are the Hebrew Dictionary, by Ben Jehuda, of which at this writing seven parts of the first volume, reaching to page 336, have been published. It is indeed a momentous and much-needed work, covering the whole historic development of the Hebrew language, and may be compared to Murray's English Dictionary. Another important work in Hebrew is the Hebrew Encyclopedia, published by Eisenstein, of New York, of which so far two volumes have appeared. While my name appears among the editors on the title page, I unfortunately was not able to do so much for it that it would be self-laudation to recommend this work of the indefatigable scholar as one of the most far-reaching literary enterprises in the Jewish world.

Of general interest is the publication of the first volume of a work on Maimonides by the society for the promotion of the "science of Judaism," although the publication of independent essays is hardly the thing which was to be expected from the start. To the same line of work belongs Neumark's "Geschichte der

Juedischen Philosophie des Mittelalters," which goes beyond the limits of its title, including, as it does, Bible and Talmud. Of similar largeness of scope is Martin Philippson's "Neueste Geschichte des Judischen Volkes," covering a field that requires a trained historian. To friends of the rabbinical literature, who are unable to read the rabbinical works in the original, August Wuensche's new anthology of Midrashim, in German translation, of which two volumes have appeared, will be welcome. They are an addition to his former works along the same line. The attacks made on Judaism, directly and indirectly, by Christian theologians have brought out quite a number of Jewish works on the essentials in Judaism. We mention Abrahams' "Judaism," Goldschmidt's "Wesen des Judenthums," and Obermeier's[1] pungent sarcasm on modern Judaism, reviewed at length in this paper. A special place must be reserved for Friedrich Delitzsch's "Zur Weiterbildung der Religion." In connection with the apology for Judaism two works on the criminalty of the Jews, one by von Liszt and one by Wassermann, deserve particular mention. To this category belongs also Abbot's "Israel in Europe." We might even count as an apology for Judaism Lea's "History of the Inquisition," of which the fourth volume has appeared, although the work deals only partly with matters of Jewish interest. This history of a Jewish family and, indirectly, a specimen of the achievements of Jews in the world of commerce, industry and letters, is presented to us in the "Familie Gomperz," edited from the manuscript of the lamented Prof, Kaufmann

[1] Modernes Judentum im Morgen-und Abendlande. Vienna, 1907.

by Rabbi Freudenthal. Biography and autobiography are represented by the charming memoirs of Julius Rodenberg and the thorough biography of Berthold Auerbach by Bettelheim. It would be unjust to close this review without making some mention of American literary productions, of which may be noted as a healthful sign of promise, Raisin's "Sect, Creed and Custom" and Martin Meyer's "History of the City of Gaza." Finally, Shechter's second volume of "Studies in Judaism" deserves special mention, although it merely represents a reprint of articles which have appeared in various periodicals. The Jewish Publication Society here has shown good judgment in collecting readable essays, scattered and inaccessible to the public at large. Although the writer can not entirely withhold certain important differences of opinion, as his objection to the presentation of Hassdism as a spiritualizing force, while it is largely a degeneracy into a superstition nearing the Fetich worship, it must be admitted that the essays are brilliantly written and have the merit of originality.

To the readers, if they have followed me so far, I offer my sincere apology for the length of this review, and in grateful recognition of their kindness I wish that with all the righteous they may be promptly inscribed into the Book of Life on the first day of Rosh Hashanah.

THE YEAR 5669*

MANY American Jews who have forgotten that there are fast days besides Yom Kippur, or who do not remember them when they come around, are unaware of their orthodoxy. We are living in a time when, from the most rigorous point of view in the observance of the law, these fast days may be ignored, for the Talmud (Rosh Hashanah, 18 b.) says: In times when there is neither persecution nor perfect peace, the fast days may or may not be observed. This expresses exactly the situation of the Jewish community in the year that has just drawn to a close. We did not experience such persecutions as had aroused us to the seriousness of our situation three and four years ago, but on the other hand, our position is not just what we should like it to be, and what we would be entitled to, if the ideas of our noblest minds had become the property of the masses. Legal restrictions in barbarous countries and petty social discriminations in countries of freedom, with an antipathy which can not always be proven by clear facts, but is nevertheless a certainty in our feelings, are patent to the observer of the Jewish situation when he reviews the events of the year just closed.

Beginning with the United States, in the matter of Antisemitism, our community was treated to such an experience in the article which former Police Commissioner of New York, Theodore Bingham, published in the "North American Review" of

*The American Israelite, September 16, 1909.

September, 1908, giving us a reminder on the occasion of the new year that still calls for introspection. Bingham said that half the criminals in New York are Jews, and added insult to injury by stating that the Jewish criminals, in addition to being devoid of all sense of morality, lack courage. The allegation was so patently untrue that its author had to retract it, but the injury is done, and it may fairly be assumed that Bingham has a number of sympathizers among men in leading public positions whose prejudice against the Jews seeks only for an excuse, that is always found when wanted, whether borne out by facts or not. Sydney Reid admitted this sentiment frankly in an article, entitled "Because You Are a Jew," which was published in the "Independent" (New York) of November 26, a periodical which showed its true colors three years ago when it published an article from the venomous pen of Goldwin Smith, full of invectives against the Jews, and refused to give the Jewish side a hearing. It might appear like overestimating the importance of an insignificant incident when, in this connection, it is reported that Recorder Mara, of Bayonne, N. J., stated at the trial of a Jewish storekeeper who was accused by an Irish woman of having stolen her purse "Do not go to a Jew's store," but one must remember that similar sentiments are sufficiently frequent to make such a little incident unfortunately rather typical. The same must be said of the frequent attacks voiced in Christian denominational papers and at ecclesiastic gatherings. The demand of the Jews to keep Christian religious exercises out of public schools was

denounced by the "Congregationalist and Christian World" as tactless and as ingratitude on the part of the Jews who have "received a cordial welcome to this country." At a conference of the Methodist Church, South, the cause of prohibition was agitated by an attack on "negroes, Jews and yellow-dog democrats," although in the cause of prohibition the Jews are in no way responsible for its lack of success. Rev. David J. Burrell, a Presbyterian minister of New York, is agitated over the popularity of the Sunday theater and he knows of no stronger argument than an attack on the "Jewish theatrical syndicate as responsible for that agnosticism which fills the theaters and empties the churches."

Seeing such sentiments in countries where antisemitism never was a political force, we must not worden at events which make us blush for our age in countries where the ambitious politician finds in antisemitism a smooth road to political success.

This is particularly the case in Austria and Germany In Austria, where the fight between the Germans and the Slavs is the center of public interest, antisemitism is a handy weapon for all parties, and each party tries to purge itself of the suspicion that it is furthering the cause of the Jews. This feeling led to a bloody fight between Jewish and non-Jewish fraternities of the University of Vienna, November 10. While youth may be excused for its hotheadedness, it is very discouraging to note like manifestations in bodies which, by the nature of their official character, should be free from childish demonstrations. The city council of Eger passed a resolution refusing space to

Jewish merchants at the fairs. The city council of Teschen even prohibited the use of the municipal bathhouse to the Jews. The second case is a return to medieval ecclesiastic legislation based on the principle that social intercourse between Jews and Christians must be prohibited, and the former goes even beyond medieval ideas, for in times of the worst persecutions the German federal law allowed Jews free access to fairs, even in places where they had no right of residence. The Austrian Reichsrat has for more than twenty years been the regular theater for the rudest antisemitic attacks, and this has gone so far that even the liberal parties refused to allow a Jew in their ranks. Camill Kuranda, speaking in the Reichsrat on the commercial interests of Austria in the Orient, was interrupted with the shout, "Salzgries," which is a street in Vienna in which Jewish merchants are prominent. One must consider the fact that Kuranda occupied a prominent position in the ministry, that his father was a leading politician and publicist, who nearly half a century ago was elected a member of the Reichsrat by the diet of Lower Austria, in order to understand how conditions have deteriorated. The same sad deduction may be made from a remark in the Reichsrat by the liberal member, Pergelt, when during an address he was interrupted by a Czech clerical, who said to him, "Your party is a party of Jews," and the liberal replied, "I am willing to make you a present of the Jews."

Germany has exactly the same conditions, although the basis of the antisemitic sentiment is not found in

national antagonism, but in reactionary tendencies, on one hand, and in the desire of the liberals to maintain their position against conservatives, clericals and socialists, on the other. There antisemitism receives official encouragement. Repeatedly the question, why Jews are not appointed as officers in the army, has been discussed in the Reichstag. The minister declared that there was no legal ground for such discrimination, but it is, nevertheless, officially tolerated and encouraged by the highest authorities. The ill-treatment of the Jewish soldier, Maxim Bloch, by his captain, Count Gerstorff, which led to the soldier's suicide, made it manifest to the most confirmed optimist why Jews are denied their constitutional rights in the German army. It will certainly be interpreted by the antisemites as an official recognition of their views when the court of Bamberg decided that an antisemite had a right to challenge a Jewish expert as partial. The Prussian law on education, which went into effect last year, discriminates against Jewish teachers more than was the case before, which means a great deal, and the sentiments prevailing in the teaching staff are illustrated by a teacher in the night school of Berlin, who compelled his pupils to write down the statement that the Berlin city government is rotten because it muzzles antisemites in the city council. In Breslau an antisemitic member of the city council complained of the relatively large number of Jewish girls in the city library, a fact which is easily explained, because for such positions a teachers' certificate is required and Jewish girls, even when they possess such certificates,

can hardly hope to obtain employment in schools. Discrimination against Jewish teachers is even complained of in England, although in that case it is difficult to ascertain the fact. France, however with her boast that she was the first country in Europe to grant to the Jews equality and, in spite of the fact that the Jews there are an insignificant minority still harbors an antisemitic sentiment which as in Austria is a convenient weapon in the hands of clericalism. The mutilation, in Paris, of the monument of von Scheurer-Kestner the noble and courageous champion of Dreyfus and of Bernard Lazare, in Nimes, and finally, the ovation given Gregory on the occasion of the anniversary of his attempt on the life of Dreyfus, show that the final settlement of the Dreyfus affair and the separation of state and church have not as ye disposed of the policy inaugurated under clerical auspices by Drumont in 1886, a sad commentary on the boast of Renan, made in 1883, that the so-called Jewish question had been definitely settled by France in 1791.

It is rather discouraging that even in countries which have a very small Jewish population, and in others which are still open to Jewish immigration anti-Jewish sentiment is occasionally found. An officer in Johannesburg told a native who had a disagreement with a Jewish merchant from whom he had bought a wagon "Next time you ought to go to a decent place of business and not to a Jew-shop." Similar sentiments are occasionally expressed in the local papers of South Africa, and, while not very important, they show that in a country where the Jew is no more of

an alien than any other white man, and were the influx of the white population should be greeted with satisfaction, the Jew is still considered as an intruder The same is the case in Argentina, where the Jews were denounced as socialists because some of them participated in a socialist parade, and even in Brazil, where the Jewish population is very insignificant in numbers and, as far as known, not organized into congregations, a German paper denounced the presidential candidate, David Mortizsohn Campista, as a Jew, which is not even known to be a fact. Even little Denmark, with its 3,000 Jews, in a population of 2,600,000, witnessed an agitation against overcrowding in the poor Jewish quarter of Copenhagen.

It would be wrong, however, to dwell on the unpleasant side of last year's history without emphasizing the many features which show that we have a full right to believe that humanity is, after all, marching onward. Congress made an attempt to prove that the pledge to secure for American citizens freedom of travel in Russia was meant seriously by passing a resolution (March 3) to enforce this demand, and a similar resolution, introduced in the Legislature of Rhode Island by Mr. Harry Cutler, shows that energetic action on the part of the Jews will help to remove a condition which is a disgrace, perhaps even more to the government of the United States than to the Jewish citizens. The appointment of Mr. Oscar S. Straus as minister to Turkey, a position which he had held twice before and the appearance of President Taft in Temple "Rodef Shalom," of Pittsburgh,

testify to the progress made by the Jewish community in this country, which will keep up with the constant progress in numbers and in culture, apparent every day. The difficulties placed in the way of immigrants by Commissioner Williams, which appear in the large number of rejections and in the arbitrary rule that every immigrant must possess $25, works hardship on Jews, although it was not devised to keep them out. Aside from the influence of organized labor, it was very likely the vicious element among the Italians, prominent in many cases of murder and blackmail, which gave moral justification to the rigorous policy in dealing with immigrants. The efforts of Jewish representatives, among them that tried veteran, Simon Wolf, have already been in part successful in checking the zeal of Mr. Williams.

Canada shows a somewhat less satisfactory state. In the province of Quebec the school question works hardships on the Jews, although it is bound to be solved, sooner or later, with the increasing population. The present status, which divides the schools into a Catholic and a Protestant system, thereby making Jewish pupils appear as merely tolerated, and bars Jews from serving on the school board, is bound to cease as the Jewish population increases and a native element grows up. The difficulty is chiefly due to the clerical aspirations of the French element which, also in other ways, is hostile to Jews. It would, however, be unjustifiable pessimism to look upon Canada otherwise than as a land of promise for the Jews.

Honors bestowed on individuals were not wanting even in times of the worst persecution, but it is a mat-

ter of historic significance that the year 5669 witnessed in England the first Jew enter His Majesty's cabinet and thus add another link to the chain of progress marked by the election of David Salomons as sheriff of London and Middlesex in 1835, and by the entrance of Baron Lionel de Rothschild into the House of Commons in 1858. Even the fact that Chief Rabbi Adler, on his seventieth birthday anniversary, was decorated by the king with the royal Victorian order, and was given the honorary title of doctor of letters by the University of Oxford, is to be recorded with satisfaction and is something to cheer us up at a time when the antialien movement is continued with the evident desire of checking Jewish immigration, and when, on the occasion of an anarchistic crime, a motion for new antialien legislation was introduced in the House of Commons (February 25.)

The historic habit which traces every imaginable ill back to the Jews, has not been absent in France this year. The criminal career of Madame Steinheil, which seemed to transform the most fanciful inventions of the yellow novel into reality, was seized upon by the anti-Dreyfus element as a convenient occasion to return to their old game. President Faure had died in the presence of Madame Steinheil, his hand grasping the hair of his lady friend. This matter which was suppressed at the time on account of its compromising effect on the President's character, was now freely published. It gave at once to the anti-Dreyfus element an opportunity for saying that Faure had been assassinated by order of the Dreyfus syndicate because he would not consent to a reopening of the case.

The persistence of that charge is rather disheartening and, coupled with some minor incidents like the challenging of Jewish judges by the antisemite Delahaye (June 25), taking us back to the early days of antisemitic agitation in Germany, and an attack made on a Jewish official in the department of the navy, show that reactionaries still figure on the efficacy of the cry, "A bas les Juifs!" Considering the fickleness of the French character, already observed by Julius Caesar, the student of Jewish history must not treat such incidents too lightly. Of the French colonies, Algeria has been absolutely quiet during the past year, and the days of the gutter politicians, who were responsible for the riots of 1899, seem to be over for the present. In Tunis, however, conditions are less certain. It would not be fair to make much capital of an attack on the Jews of Susa in December, as such cases of disorder are apt to crop out at any time in countries that have a semi-savage population chafing under foreign rule, but the question of the naturalization of the Jews, which is bound to come up sooner or later, may create other serious complications, for, even if the French government should not grant to the Jews wholesale naturalization as it did in Algeria in 1870, the Jew as an assimilative element will become a political factor, while the native Arab will never submit to French domination.

The political conditions in Germany did not produce anything remarkable beyond the discussion in the Reichstag, on the unconstitutional exclusion of Jews from the position of army officers (April 17-20) which has been already noticed. The retirement of

Chancellor von Buelow does not affect the Jews directly, although indirectly it was due to the success of a combination formed by the conservatives and the clericals, of whom the former are open, and the latter secret enemies of the Jews, and as such it is rather unfavorable. His successor, von Bethman-Hollweg, was—one might almost say—denounced as a Jew. This was subsequently disproven, but it is to be chronicled with satisfaction that as minister of the interior he ordered that the annoyance of Jewish guests at the seashore resort of Borkum must cease. In the various German states the relation of the state to Jewish religious affairs came up for action in several cases. A liberal member of the Prussian diet demanded an increase of the state subsidy for instruction in Jewish religion, which was also demanded by the Union of German Congregations, but was refused. Of more significance is it that a conservative member in the Prussian diet told the Liberal, Gothein, who succeeded the late Theodore Barth as president of the society for combatting antisemitism, that he ought to sell his liberalism to his Jewish friends as junk. While this rudeness on the part of a man who is known for his rowdy manners is of no consequence, it does contain some truth. Developments of the last thirty years, so impressively presented by Sudermann in his "Sturmgeselle Sokrates," seem to indicate that liberalism is fast waning, and that the powers which are fighting for supremacy in German politics are clerical conservatism on one hand and radical socialism on the other. The governments are, to put it mildly, not directly sympathetic to the

Jews, and the expulsion of inoffensive Galician Jews who made a living as peddlers in Magdeburg, and an agitation against foreign, mostly Galician Jews, who are working in cigar factories in Offenbach, are as clearly violations of international ethics as they are manifestations of anti-Jewish sentiment. A peculiar contrast to this attitude is found in the paternal interest taken by the governments of the smaller states in the spiritual affairs of the Jews. The government of Bavaria advertising the vacancy of the rabbineate of Duerckheim, inserted the clause that the candidate should belong to a "Zeitgemaess liberale Richtung," a rather comical reminder of the struggles for emancipation in 1838, when the government met the claims for civic and political equality with the demand that the Jews should first assimilate with western civilization. In the Grand Duchy of Baden the police arrested a Jewish boy for not attending the religious instruction to which the father, as an orthodox, objected on the ground of conscientious scruples.

While there is not the slighest outlook for radical improvement of conditions in Austria, as long as clericalism occupies such a powerful position, there is hardly any reason for complaint. The government evidently tries to reconcile all factions of the population with occasional concessions. It appointed a Jew as adviser to the minister of worship, but as usually is the case, in the shape of a compromise. The appointee Dr. Solomon Frankfurter, who was an official of the Vienna public library, was transferred to the ministry "for temporary employment," and thus the Jews received the compliment that like the

Catholics and Protestants they have a representative in the ministry and the clericals are spared the humiliation of having Judaism put on an equal footing with Catholicism, because Dr. Frankfurter is still a librarian and not a ministerial councillor. There were other appointments to prominent positions in the postal service, in the ministries and on the bench, gazetted during the last year, which show that even the antisemites are satisfied with the theoretical denunciation of the power of the Jews in politics. The sore on the body politic of the Austrian Jews is the condition of their coreligionists in Galicia. The government has finally announced the summoning of a commission to deliberate on the causes of the terrible distress prevailing among the Galician Jews, in spite of the fact that for more than forty years they possessed what is the dream of the Russian Jews, full political and civic equality. This is perhaps an installment concession to the frequent complaints that the rights of the Galician Jews exist only on paper. Such proved to be the case in the town of Hruszow. The Jews were excluded from the use of the municipal forest and pasture, and the provincial authorities confirmed this clearly illegal act, so that it required an appeal to the supreme court to guarantee the rights which the constitution vouchsafes to Jewish citizens. The cases of kidnaping girls and taking them to monasteries where the parents can not recover them, in spite of the fact that such an act is a crime punishable with a sentence of five years in the penitentiary, are so frequent that it is not worth while recording them. As a fitting counterpiece it may be

quoted that a Jewish boy, the son of a Jewish mother and a Christian father, who was brought up as a Jew, but according to the law could not declare himself a Jew until he was fourteen years old, was refused this permission by an official who, like most members of his class, belongs to the nobility which is hand in glove with the Jesuits. At the foundling asylum of Bobrek, which is maintained with provincial funds, Jewish children are raised as Christians, and all protests thereto have been unavailing. Hungary has not yet passed the new electoral bill which is to enlarge the franchise, but opposition to it is already being voiced, for by the preference given to those who know the Magyar language, the Jews will gain out of all proportion to the rest of the population. There is also a decision wanting in the case of the Jews of Bosnia. After the annexation of this province to Austria, a representative form of government was promised, composed of representatives of the various elements of the population grouped according to their religion. Contradictory reports had it at one time that Jews were to be excluded, at another that they were to have one or two representatives. The matter has not yet been decided, but the government has reason for reconciling all elements of the population, particularly because the Roman Catholics are, as usual, oblivious to all political considerations in furthering their own interests. Thus the archbishop of Serajewo has repeatedly been guilty of abetting the forcible conversion of Mohammedan girls to Christianity. In Galicia, when the victims are Jews, this is an easy matter, but in Bosnia, with a Mohammedan

population which is apt to cause serious trouble, the matter is not so simple.

The Talmudic motto quoted in the opening paragraph of this review can be nowhere better adapted than to conditions in Russia, where we have neither cases of persecution, to which we have become accustomed periodically for the last twenty-eight years nor any signs of progress to record. To the memorial, to the council of ministers on the condition of the Jews, written in 1906 and only recently published, we need not refer. It is a dead letter and would not have helped materially even if its mild suggestions of improvement would have been carried into effect. A really important document is a book on anti-semitism published by Count Iwan Tolstoy, the former minister of education. This book shows that there are even in the circles of the Russian bureaucracy statesmen of wide vision and of sound information Count Tolstoy, who is far removed from the morbid sentimentality of his famous namesake, the novelist bluntly says that restrictive laws are in one way ineffective and in another directly harmful. People of his caliber, however, must be very rare, to judge from the real conditions which have existed in Russia during the past year. The existing restrictions were maintained in individual instances with unnecessary rigor, and among the population there is noticeable no sign of a broader conception of the right of the Jews as human beings. The Jews of Bokhara who, at the time of the annexation of their territory, were given freedom of travel and have done a great deal for the advancement of the commercial interests of

Russia in Central Asia, are now being placed on the same level with other Russian Jews. The restrictions on the right of residence of Jews in Kiev and other places have been carried out with that inhumanity against which even the antisemite, Arnold White protested at one time in a conversation with Pobiednoszeff, and the laws restricting the residence of Jews in the rural districts have been so interpreted that Jews of Kiev and of Riga are not permitted to spend the summer in the resorts on the outskirts of the city of their residence. Even health resorts in the Causasus were closed entirely to the Jews, and only after great efforts were made accessible to them under the most oppressive and humiliating restrictions. The percentage of Jewish students in secondary and academic institutions is not only maintained but is interpreted in the narrowest sense possible. Jewish actors and musicians are not allowed to appear outside the Pale of residence, and in this way a volume could be filled with regulations that remind one of the dark ages. Bureaucracy occasionally assumes an attitude of regret, the minister of commerce, Timiriazeff, declaring that these measures are due to the revolutionary inclinations of the Jews. How far this interpretation goes is illustrated by a term of seven years in the reformatory given to a boy of fourteen, who was found guilty of being a member of the Poale Zion Society. It must be admitted with satisfaction that the government is at least fair in one respect. It treats liberals and orthodox alike. The Orthodox Congregational Union, "Keneset Israel," which was founded for the purpose of maintaining the traditions

in the education of the youth, and which condemned the sympathy of the young people for the revolution, was also dissolved. The authorities are remarkably sensitive when their fairness to the Jews is called into question. Mr. Iwanowicki, the government rabbi of Odessa, made a public statement opposing the charges brought against the Jewish community, saying that such charges might lead to bloody riots. The governor of the city sentenced him to three days' detention at his home for having libeled the Russian nation by suggesting that a Russian could ever be guilty of an act of violence against a Jew. This impudent attitude perhaps underlies the regular practice of the Czar, who quashes the light sentences imposed on such as are convicted of participation in the porgoms of 1905. The conception of the courts in such cases is somewhat humorously brought home to the observer by a finding in the trial of the pogrom riotres of Mariopol, where the court declared that the fact whether there was a pogrom four years ago could not be ascertained. It was indeed proven that the thirty Jews who were killed at that time were still dead, while the demolished houses had been repaired. The Duma does not seem to have the courage to take up the question of the Jews, and what little has been discussed about Jewish affairs, is of a very hostile nature. The representatives of the "Black Hundred" attacked the constitutionality of the order issued by Stolypin in 1907, to leave Jews who reside outside of the Pale undisturbed until the question should be settled by law, and other attacks were made on the Jews for dodging military service and for engaging

in white slave traffic. Finland, which now has autonomy, has not yet passed the promised bill on the rights of the Jews, and whatever is heard concerning the measure is rather discouraging. The only measure which has become law is the prohibition of Shehitah, for which a Finnish woman made propaganda at the congress for the prevention of cruelty to animals, in London, declaring the framers of this measure to have been actuated entirely by humane motives.

Rumania presents exactly the same conditions as Russia. There is no improvement, and politicians still carry on an agitation against the Jews. Premier Bratiano, the son of the statesman who guided Rumania's destinies in 1879, when Europe forced the newly created state to grant her Jews equal rights, gave one decision in their favor when he annulled the order of expulsion from the rural communities of the district of Bacau, promulgated by the local prefect. It must also be recorded with some satisfaction that the Jewish sufferers from the agrarian riots in 1907 were awarded damages, and in this respect they are more fortunate than their Russian brothers, who were always refused damages by the courts in pogrom trials. On the other hand, a government chemist, who was notoriously unfair in his dealings with Jewish wine merchants, obtained a judgment on the plea of defamation against Jewish merchants who had completely established their case. The plea made by the president of the Chamber of Commerce in Jassy, that the exclusion of Jews from the chamber was harmful to the interests of commerce,

had no practical result, and the audience which the Queen granted to Fraeulein Bertha Pappenheim, of Frankfurt-a-M., when she visited Rumania on her mission to suppress the white slave traffic, is of no consequence. The crowned poetess, for political reasons, indorses the antisemitic acts of her government, for if she were to do otherwise the throne of King Charles would be no more secure than is the crown of his neighbor, King Peter of Servia.

Turkey and the States of the Balkans are passing through a period of transition. It is a matter of satisfaction that the Turkish Parliament has four Jewish members, and that other Jews have obtained prominent positions in the government service, but it would scarcely be too pessimistic to regard developments with some doubt. In Greece there was an attack on the Jews of Janina, therefore the Greeks in Macedonia, Asia Minor and Bulgaria give good cause for apprehension by their attitude toward the Jews. Bulgaria occasionally furnishes us a small riot and an antisemitic speech in Parliament, while the newly-made King continues to display great courtesy in dealing with Jews, just as in Turkey the Grand Rabbi has been treated with a great deal of distinction by the new Sultan and the authorities. In Palestine, however, the prohibition of immigration which, although promulgated in 1882, has remained a dead letter, continues in spite of assurances that the new constitution will not discriminate against Jews, foreign or native, in any way. The developments in Morocco also indicate a state of latent rebellion. Occasionally expressions of good will toward the

Jews by the grand vizier and some of the governors are evidently made merely for the purpose of showing that Morocco is civilized. These savages are shrewd enough to understand that the same governments which do not treat their own Jews with fairness would be willing to seize the opportunity of encroaching upon the sovereignity of Morocco on behalf of humanity when Jews are mobbed. Mulai Hafid is by no means sure of his throne, although the so-called "Reef pirates" are giving the Spaniards a hard fight. Spain, in spite of the queer fancy of Senator Pulido, who wishes to repatriate all Jews of Spanish descent, will not fight for the sake of the Jews, and within her own boundary lines their lot would not be very pleasant if Senator Pulido's fancy should ever be realized, for it has already provoked a protest on the clerical side. Persia is at present in the throes of a crisis such that the condition of the Jews is absolutely unascertainable. Experiences that go back to the third century show, however, that with every reawakening of chauvinism in Persia a persecution of the Jews has occurred.

It may be a more favorable sign of the times that during the last two years greater activity has prevailed within the Jewish fold. Both Liberals and Orthodox are trying to strengthen their position. The most notable fact in America is the founding of two teachers' seminaries, one in New York and one in Cincinnati. The real Orthodox also display considerable activity in establishing charitable and educational institutions, and their Talmud-torahs, particularly in the large cities, show great improvement.

It is also a matter worth recording that the scheme of holding a convention of Talmudtorah teachers was at least publicly discussed.

Lord Swaythling is in earnest in his appointment of an Orthodox chief rabbi, and just before retiring from the presidency of the Board of Shehitah, he declared he would spend $25,000 in fighting all attempts to break the authority of that board. How much he has actually spent is not known, but it is a fact that the opposition was once again broken. In Germany the attempt to establish an organization of Jewish communities, the equivalent of the Protestant "Landeskirche," seems definitely buried. At the last convention of the Union of German Jewish Congregations, held May 16, another draft of a bill for the establishment of such an organization was finally disposed of, although the opponents had the courtesy to refer it to a committee together with a resolution that the question be studied as to how such a union might be established without interfering with the autonomy of the congregations, which is equivalent to the problem in the German proverb, to manufacture a knife without a blade, of which the handle is missing. There does not seem to be any better prospect of such a congregational union in Austria, where it also has been advocated, although the Austrian government is not so strongly opposed to the strengthening of Jewish organizations as is the Prussian. The mistake made in Austria was that the promoters of this scheme wished to make it compulsory, to which the Orthodox minority objected and, under present conditions, with two antisemites

in the ministry, there is hardly any hope that the government will introduce legislative measures to create such an organization, which it avoided in 1890, when the law on the Jewish communities, at present in force, was passed. In Hungary, we find a like condition. The Liberals would have a Jewish organization which could speak officially in the name of all the Jews of the country, but the Orthodox are bitterly opposed to it. The minister of worship, Count Apponyi, is a Clerical, and naturally his sympathies are rather on the Orthodox side, and in this instance quite properly. It is strange that the Liberals have not learned the lesson taught by the congress of 1868, which resulted in an open schism, where formerly there were only parties. France is more fortunate, owing to the separation of State and Church, and the Jews, who, before this principle became a law, also antagonized it, are now quite satisfied with it. The separation seems to have made for the strengthening of liberalism. The Liberal community gives signs of vigorous life, while an Orthodox synagog, established in the fashionable quarter for the purpose of counteracting the influence of the Liberal union, will have to be closed. The official Jewish community, however, remains Orthodox, and the last rabbinical convention was unable to pass a vote on the most urgently needed reforms of the marriage law.

It is rather to the credit of the Russian Jew that the rabbinical convention held at Wilna, May 3-11, showed a complete grasp of the situation in the resolutions which it passed, and also in the fact that the

Hasidic element went hand in hand with their bitterest opponents, the representatives of rabbinic Orthodoxy. A severe crisis always has the beneficial result of uniting different elements.

Zionism is passing through a great trial. It is not becoming an observer to be a partisan, but even Zionists will not deny the fact that the constitution granted in Turkey has placed them face to face with a very grave problem. The idea of autonomy for a Jewish state—or by whatever name it may be called—in Palestine is, as far as present indications go, without any prospect of realization. Some Zionist leaders have indeed declared that the charter was not essential, but if they should settle in Palestine as individuals and—as has been demanded by leading Turkish politicians, both Jews and Mohammedans—without any political aspirations, then this movement would be merely a move toward emigration into countries offering favorable conditions. Not even the most chauvinistic Zionist will claim that from an economic point of view the present conditions in Palestine are favorable to immigration, and consequently the question would simply have to be judged from the political point of view. That in this respect Palestine is more attractive than America, South Africa, or Australia can surely not be maintained. The calling of the next Zionist congress to Constantinople, now abandoned, carried with it the idea of a demonstration, and it will be wise to await the results.

The Territorialists have profited from the embarrassment of their Zionist opponents. The scheme of a settlement in Tripoli, for which, rather strangely

and perhaps for the sake of euphemism, the ancient appellation of Cyrenaica was used, has been definitely abandoned. The latest favorite scheme is the opening of Mesopotamia. The Turkish resolution not to complicate political difficulties by the creation of a new national question applies to this scheme just as well as it does to that of Palestine. It has, however the advantage of greater economic promises, although in such questions experience has taught us that forecasters may be swayed just as well by unjustified optimism as by unjustified pessimism. It is fortunate at least that for the present the conditions requiring a new area of settlement are not as acute as they were up to two years ago.

Considering the just complaint about the lack of interest shown by Jews in literary productions, it is rather remarkable to record the literature of one year. To the reviewer who has to condense his observations into the space of one article, this becomes impossible. Even the enumeration of several hundred titles would make a catalog and not a review, therefore we have to limit ourselves to matters of general interest. The most gratifying fact is the continuation of Ben Jehuda's great dictionary, of which the first volume has appeared. Another inportant announcement is the revival of the "Mekize Nirdamim Society," which will, as heretofore, publish old works from manuscript. The influence of progressive ideas on Orthodoxy is noted with satisfaction from the regular publications of the Juedische Literarische Gesellschaft in Frankfurt-a-M. which, while biased by apologetic tendencies in some parts, has given us in its year

books very valuable monographs. Of many productions of specific character, two may be mentioned particularly. The sons of the late Prof. della Torre have published the collected writings of their father in two splendidly edited volumes, and Dr. M. S. Zuckermandel has published a work in two volumes of 500 pages each on the Tosefta. Zuckermandel began work on this subject nearly forty years ago, and the fact that a man in advanced years is striving so hard for the elucidation of what is, after all, a minor question in Jewish literature, is a splendid proof of the undying idealism of which Israel's history is an unsurpassed example. There could be no more appropriate New Year's greeting than this fact, which as the guiding thought of the past, gives assurance for the future.

THE YEAR 5670.*

THE year just passed was a leap year of 383 days, and, therefore, the events to be considered in this review occupy much more space than usual. In importance, however, this year has hardly left anything as a lasting heritage to history, unless it is the fact that a Jew for the first time has been appointed premier. The most serious problem before Jewry, the Russian situation, remains unaltered, with a tendency towards deterioration. Reactionary movements in countries where Jews possess freedom have not materially progressed, and in the internal life of Judaism no change of any consequence has occurred. The liberals have become somewhat more active, and have stimulated the orthodox camp into action on their part, but it would be unjustified optimism to say that the problem of battling with indifference or of harmonizing the ideas of the age with Jewish tradition has been either solved or brought nearer solution.

It may be justly said, in speaking of the relation of the outside work to the Jews, that to us applies the Talmudic statement,[1] "We are neither enjoying the prosperity of the wicked, nor the tribulations of the righteous."

In countries where law and practice give to Jews unrestricted equality with their fellow-citizens, we can, if we are sufficiently attentive to the signs of

*The American Israelite, September 29, 1910.

[1]Abot, 4, 15.

the times, still discover that historic feeling which considers the Jew an inferior. It would be unjustified pessimism to view such incidents with alarm, but it would be conceit to pass them by with absolute indifference. When Judge Cochran, of Wilmington, Delaware, says to a Jew from the bench, "This sounds like a Jew trick," and when the factory hands in a carpet mill in Newburg, New York, declare a strike because a Jew had been given a job, these facts reveal a certain mental attitude, both amongst classes as amongst masses. Similarly significant are incidents reported from the Transvaal, where houses are offered for sale with the proviso that no Jew need apply. Particularly virulent seems to be the agitation in Canada, most of all in Montreal, with its large French Roman Catholic population, which has received quite a number of its leaders from the French monks, forced to leave France on account of the law of separation, and who continue the agitation which was a failure at home, in their new country. A depth of brutality is demonstrated in the case of a Canadian Catholic, who assaulted a man on the street without provocation, because he thought him to be a Jew. The judge sentenced the man to three months' hard labor and gave him a severe lecture. Not all judges seem to understand their duty so fully, for Judge Forges, of St. John, N. B., who tried some thieves who had sold stolen goods to a Jewish junk dealer, denounced in the trial, not the thieves, but the Jews who are in the habit of buying stolen goods, and in this way make fortune so quickly that they can afford to buy mansions.

France proper seems to have overcome the anti-semitic agitation. The last elections to the Chamber showed an ignominious defeat of the clericals, who had hoped to retrieve their fortunes. In social life however, antisemitism has not died out, and it is quite significant that a number of professors of the law department of the University of Paris refused to vote for the re-election of M. Lyon-Caen as dean, and that the students made a demonstration against him. England has always been politically too mature, and, besides, was so imbued with the spirit of freedom, dating back to medieval times, that it understands that antisemitism can not be a political program. The case of Hilaire Belloc, with his queer notion that the mediaeval papal bulls should be revived and made part of the constitution, placing the Jews on the basis of outlaws, is too absurd to deserve any serious attention, but that such ideas should exist in free England, even exceptionally, is far from gratifying. When an English minister, like the Rev. Evan Morgan, preaching in Shanghai, says that the Jews are a menace, such an incident must not be entirely overlooked. Orthodox Christianity is bound to look upon the crucifixion as the greatest crime ever committed, and, consequently, the Jews must suffer for it. It is not likely that the same man who preached the story of the divine punishment for the cry, "Crucify him!" actually meant to revive the events of the Crusades, but this stock in trade can not be entirely dispensed with. This review of events in countries of freedom, most of which are open to immigration, and some of which ought to

welcome it from whatever part it comes, give us evidence that the time is still distant when the hopes of the revolutionary era of the end of the 18th century will be realized.

It is natural that in countries in which remnants of the feudal states survive, if not in the constitution, at least in their traditions, the position of the Jew is not quite satisfactory. In Germany, and particularly in Prussia, where bureaucracy is a great power, the Jew is still discriminated against in public and in social life. Officials, and more so army officers, use all possible opportunities to show that the constitution, as far as they are concerned, is a dead letter. Significant in this respect is an incident at a convention of German dentists. The minister of education, von Studt, had been invited to attend the convention, and replied he would do so if a Jew was not elected presiding officer, for "the prominence of the Jews is not looked upon with satisfaction in the higher circles." When interviewed as to the truth of this rumor, he, as a correct official, refused to either affirm or deny it. The Kaiser, in spite of his friendship for some Jews prominent in the financial world, certainly spoke his mind when he declared at Marienburg, August 29, that Christianity and German nationalism are inseparably connected. Still more clearly defined was the position of the crown prince, when he asserted that instead of criticising our internal conditions, "we Germans should strengthen our national (voelkisch) life," and he deservedly earned the applause of the antisemites, whose argot he adopted. The case of the Bavarian soldier,

Raphael Frank, who was injured by a lieutenant, bearing the appropriate name of Rohe, is also significant. The man appeared as witness against the officer before a court-martial and was grossly insulted by the presiding judge, who said to him, "We are no cattle dealers, and we do not talk with our hands." The officer was given a nominal punishment under the assumption that the injuries of the man whom he had ridden over were accidental. The gentry, consisting of landed proprietors and former army officers, who furnish the bulk of the members of the conservative party in the diet of Prussia, showed their spirit in one of their typical jokes. The socialist, Liebknecht, had complained of the curtailing of the liberty of students, and his remarks were greeted with an outburst of laughter by the conservatives, who shouted: "Curtailing (beschneiden) is good!" The same spirit prevails in the circles of the high school teachers. The administration, which is so strict in matters of discipline, allows the students to form fraternities for the cultivation of sport, from which the Jews are excluded, and still these fraternities are officially recognized insofar as the principal is an honorary member and the government grants them subsidies. A high official in the province of Posen, Councilor Herr, wrote a book entitled "Ostmaerkische Städtepolitik," in which he repeated the usual cant of the pernicious influence of the Jews in the Polish provinces. At the same time the Polish papers do their best to boycott the Jews as an element which strengthens the policy of Germanization. In this case the government did not treat such an

agitation indifferently, and in one case the offender was promptly transferred to a different post. More serious was a case in the hospital of Britz, in the province of Brandenburg. This hospital is supported by the county and therefore ought to be accessible to all citizens. Nevertheless the managing physician refused to accept Jews as internes on the plea that the other internes refuse to treat them on a basis of social equality. The matter was brought up for discussion at the Kreistag and in the diet. In the former body the Landrat declared that there was no ground for action. In the diet, where the matter was discussed twice, the minister was a little more conciliatory. He regretted the action, but declared that inasmuch as the hospital administration was independent in internal affairs, he could not interfere. A similar case happened in Luebeck, where a Jewish interne, upon his application, was engaged because his name did not indicate that he was a Jew, but after he had made his appearance he was told that he was not wanted.

It must be said, however, that antisemitism as a political program seems to be steadily losing ground. To the Reichstag, at the last election, held in 1910, 17 antisemitic members, divided into three groups, were returned. Of these seventeen seats four became vacant during the last three years, and in each case the antisemites were defeated. In three instances the socialists were the victors, and in one case the national liberals carried the election. The victory of the socialist element is especially significant in a district of Saxony, which formerly was represented by the

antisemitic leader, Oswald Zimmerman. This seat, now in the hands of the socialists, shows that the strength of the antisemites comes largely from the fear of socialism, because a great many votes go to the antisemites in order to defeat the socialist candidate. It is also interesting that this successful socialist candidate is a former pastor, who began his political career on the basis of Christian socialism, even if he was not a regular member of that party. Far stronger is the position of the antisemites in Austria, because their national chauvinism adds strength to the agitation and clericalism backs it. The Bohemian socialist, Myslivec, who is a member of the Reichsrat and of the city council of Prague, said in the latter body that it would be best to remove the tombstones of the old cemetery and the Altneuschul from their present site and to transfer them, if the Jews wish to preserve them, to the new cemetery. One must remember that both, the cemetery and the old synagog, are amongst the most interesting sights of Prague, visited by numerous tourists. The rudeness of this remark and the indifference to the archeological interests show how far fanaticism will go. It is natural that officials, army officers and high school teachers in a country with bureaucratic and clerical powers in the lead will furnish occasional excesses against the Jews. A typical instance was the case of the prominent oculist, Prof. Ernst Fuchs, in Vienna, who said to a Galician patient that he did not treat any Jews in his private practice. The matter was brought before the court, and the court decided justly that the professor could not be com-

pelled to treat any patient outside of the clinic, and while the professor could also justly claim, that the presence of Polish Jews in his waiting room is injurious to his practice, it is evident that the prejudice rests with him and with the members of the circle to which he belongs. How far antisemites in Austria may go without fearing the public prosecutor, otherwise so watchful in regard to excesses of the press, is seen by a supposed joke in the humorous paper, "Kikeriki," which said that the best anti semitic program was a pogrom.

Hungary shows more favorable conditions, owing to the fact that the Jews are strong supporters of the Magyar element. Antisemitic tendencies however, are very strong in aristocratic circles. There is in Budapest an exclusive club, called Park Club, to which the former minister, Baron Daniel, belongs. His wife proposed her daughter-in-law as a member, and met with strong opposition, because the lady, although converted to Catholicism was of Jewish birth. The matter created such strong feeling that the president, Count Szapari, resigned, and a number of those who had protested against the election of the new member seceded, and formed another exclusive club, which will not allow persons of Jewish descent to become members . The clergy, which has not forgotten the loss of its privileges, uses every possible opportunity to antagonize the Jews. A very rude case of this kind was a parade held in Maria Potsch, where a young peasant dressed like a Polish Jew, and with Talis and Tefillin, marched through the streets, singing antisemitic songs. The government officially

does not coutenance antisemitism, but a Jew who applied for a teaching position was told by an official in the ministry of education, who as accident would have it, is a converted Jew himself, that Jews are not wanted.

The most important problem for American Jews is that of immigration, and intimately connected with it, the relation to the Russian question. The latter was officially broached by the resolution, introduced by F. B. Harrison, of the House of Representatives, in which he protested against the tortures perpetrated on the Russian Jews. April 29. President Taft received in this connection Judge Goldfogle, and promised to give the matter his attention. June 9. It may be in direct connection with this fact that Oscar Hammerstein, the theatrical manager, was refused a passport vise when he wished to go to Russia to engage a prima donna, as was reported on the same day. Russia evidently wishes to show that she is not afraid of public opinion, nor of any action of foreign governments, in matters which she declares to be her own concern, and it may be that for the very same reason Mr. Oscar S. Straus, although protected by the rights of a diplomat, had to demand special permission to enter Russia. It would be interesting to know the exact text of the indorsement of his passport, which, when issued to a Jew states the bearer's religion. Firebrands may denounce our government and attack individuals for submitting to these inhuman regulations, but a practical solution is not so easy. One would imagine that the terrible sanitary condition in Russia with a regular outbreak

of plague and cholera would be sufficient ground for the government to adopt such quarantine measures against Russian commerce that Russia would be forced to terms. Unfortunately our labor agitation and the regard of the party in power for the labor vote, which distrusts both the Republican party and President Taft, leads to an unfriendly attitude towards immigration. Proofs of this attitude were seen in two recent decisions on the immigration to Galveston, and also in the action of the commission on immigration, although the House postponed a definite decision, March 15. The passing of the Hayes bill, which allowed the naturalization of Syrians, Armenians, Asiatic Jews, not classifying them with other Asiatic immigration, is a logical attitude and shows fairness. May 2. But the action of Secretary Nagel, in the case of thirty-four immigrants who landed in Galveston on July 15, and of one hundred immigrants, who landed there on August 7, is decidedly biased. The decision of the secretary rests on the supposition that the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society stimulates immigration and that the people who are advised by this society are subsidized immigrants. The matter was jubilantly taken up by the narrow-minded Protestant clericals, of whom the Baptist paper, "Journal and Messenger," is a typical specimen, and the cry was raised that the Jews wish to evade the laws, and to overrun the country with an undesirable element. The statement is downright slander. Immigration is bound to continue as long as the unbearable conditions of Russia continue. Emigrants will often be exploited by sharks, and therefore the bureau

was established to give tham all the necessary information and to protect them against exploitation. It was also devised to turn immigration toward Galveston, not in order to evade a supposedly stricter inspection in eastern ports, but to turn immigration away from the overcrowded slum districts in seaport cities, to the more thinly populated west. If is impossible that anybody, desirous of being informed, could misunderstand the situation, and therefore the outcry against the flooding of the country with Jews is gratuitous calumny. No one can charge the administration of President Taft personally, with any anti-Jewish bias. The presence of the President at the banquet of the Independent Order B'nai B'rith at the constitutional grand lodge in Washington, April 6, and the addresses made by him, by ex-Secretary Foster, by Speaker Cannon, and Admiral Schley, clearly show that the Jew is a factor in public life, and that the national leaders recognize and appreciate it. A case in point is the brave action taken by Mayor Gaynor of New York, when he refused to license street preaching by missionaries on the East Side, declaring that this would irritate the Jewish people and cause trouble. This statement would have been sufficient as a reason for the refusal, but the brave mayor went further and declared frankly that he saw no cause why the Jews should be treated like heathens and savages, when their religion was as good as any other.

The event alluded to in the introduction places Italy in the front rank of Jewish history during the past year. Giuseppe Luzzatti, who six times had held

the position of minister of finance, was on December 10, appointed secretary of agriculture, and in March entrusted with the formation of a cabinet, whose presiding officer he has been ever since. This is the first case of its kind known in history. It might be appropriate on this occasion to refer to the usual exaggeration of the status of Jews in the Middle ages. It is said that in Spain under Moslem government such cases have happened before. This is not true. Jews occupied during mediaeval times occasionally very important positions as financial advisers and here and there as literary assistants of the diplomatic corps, but they were never members of a government. This was excluded by the fundamental principle of the mediaeval state, both in Mohammedan and in Christian countries. Luzzatti is not a very strong Jew in the sense of synagog affiliation. He said at one time in reply to a newspaper attack, that he feels only as a Jew, when he is attacked as such, and occasionally in his works he showed an obtrusive admiration for "the blonde Rabbi of Nazareth," the blondness evidently being a necessary feature in the opinion of those who wish to make Jesus an Aryan. But Luzatti was never converted to Christianity and is therefore in the eyes of the world, a full-fledged Jew. It is quite interesting to observe that the placing of a Jew at the head of a cabinet did not cause a ripple in Italy, whose population, nominally at least, is 99 per cent Roman Catholic. It is also interesting that a Catholic committee demanded of the Jewish premier protection against annoyance by mobs, and that he cooly replied, "Catholics shall have

all the protection which the law grants to every law-abiding citizen." Of lasting merit in his administration will be the law of compulsory education, which he introduced in Parliament and which was passed in spite of the clerical agitation for its defeat. By the side of the overtowering importance of this appointment, the appointment of two Jews, Prof. Polacco and Luigi Mortara, as members of the Senate, is comparatively insignificant, but it is worth while noting that there are at present eleven members in the Italian Senate. In view of the difficulties that confront Jews in diplomatic service in Christian countries, the appointment of Salvatore Barzilai, as ambassador to China, deserves notice.

The main political question that confronts the Jews in England is the same as in America, the question of immigration. The anti-alien immigration law which was passed by the conservative ministry as a last, though futile, attempt to maintain itself in power, was inherited by the present liberal ministry, but the latter seems to be quite satisfied with its existence. Mr. Winston Churchill, who, during the campaign, promised to work for the alteration of the most oppressive features, has not kept his promise, although quite recently in a letter, addressed to the Board of Guardians, May 4, he repeated his promise. In some respects the treatment of the immigrants is worse in England than it is in America. A case in which some immigrants were kept on board of ships in a condition which would be a disgrace, if it were allowed in a penal institution, was brought to public attention and, although denied in part, discloses a

very unfriendly attitude toward immigration. One can hardly include the audience, granted by the new king to representatives Jews, June 22, in the list of events that affect the condition of the Jews. More important, however, is that Mr. Herbert S. Samuel, to whose lot it fell to be the first Jewish member of the king's cabinet, as chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, was made postmaster general, and is at the head of a department in which Sir Matthew Nathan, formerly governor of Natal, also occupies a prominent position. Other important appointments include Mr. Edwin S. Samuel, who was made under-secretary for India, and Mr. Rufus Isaacs, subsequently knighted, as solicitor general. The new king, besides conferring the knighthood on Mr. Rufus Isaacs, has raised three Jews, Mr. Karl Meyer, Mr. Alfred Mond, and Mr. Adolph Tuck to the baronetcy, the latter the son of an immigrant from a small town in the province of Posen, and the head of the greatest art publishing firm in England, is also an active member of the Jewish community. Of similar importance are some elections of Jews to important municipal offices, like that of Jacob Moser, zealous worker in Zionist circles, Lord Mayor of Bradford, of Philip Dresner, as bailie of Leith, and finally the election of eleven Jews, amongst whom Miss Nettie Adler, daughter of the chief rabbi, as members of the London county council. In internal life, the conference of Jewish ministers, the first of its kind, held December 26-28, is a matter of historic importance, inasmuch as it is the first official action which shows the untenable condition of the chief rabbinate with its episcopal

power, and while predictions as to the future are somewhat risky, it would seem that this event will inaugurate a new era, when the office of chief rabbi is filled by a person not possessing the prestige of the present aged incumbent.

Of the Scandinavian countries, with their scanty Jewish population, only Denmark came into public notice during the last year through two appointments Mr. Edward Brandes was for a short time minister of finance, and the first Jew holding an office in the cabinet, and Mr. Herman Trier was called to the Landsthing, the upper House. Mr. Trier has held important positions before. He was presiding officer of the city council, and Speaker of the Folksthing, the House of Representatives. Internal conditions seem to be less satisfactory. Edward Brandes years ago severed his connection with the Jewish community and his brother, the famous literary critic, George Brandes, has done so lately in connection with the discharge of the chief rabbi of Copenhagen, whose orthodoxy seems to have been too much for the Jewish community. In this case, as elsewhere, radicalism and orthodoxy joined hands. George Brandes, while he still paid dues to the Jewish community, had declared repeatedly that he did not consider himself a Jew, and in the case of the Jews of Finland, although he later modified his remarks, he showed an absolutely indifferent attitude when he was asked to interest himself on their behalf.

The constitution of the North German Federation was amended July 3, 1869, by a resolution which provided that no state of the federation could make

any law discriminating against any citizen on the ground of his religion. This resolution which was directed against Mecklenburg, which at that time still had discriminating laws on its statute books, was embodied in the constitution of the new empire in 1871. Although the empire will shortly celebrate the fortieth anniversary of its foundation, this constitutional provision is a dead-letter, as far as appointment of Jews to certain classes of official positions, and particularly to the army is concerned. For about thirty years no Jew has attained the rank of an officer in the army, and even before that time appointments were merely made to the reserve corps. As Germany has compulsory military service, there are about 15,000 Jews in the army, among whom, owing to the fact that Jews form a very large percentage, six or eight times their pro rata, in high schools, a great number of volunteers are found. It is customary that these volunteers, after having served their year are admitted to an examination which enables them to obtain the rank of a lieutenant in the reserve. To Jews this privilege has for the last thirty years been persistently denied, with the exception of the Bavarian contingent which is under separate administration. The matter has been repeatedly discussed in the Reichstag, and again this year, when the liberal member, Gothein, who is president of the society against antisemitism, quoted statistical data, showing beyond any doubt that the authorities discriminated against the Jews, February 10. Minister von Herringen, who is at the head of the war department, replied that there was no law barring the Jews from

such appointments, and that if a Jew were proposed for such a position by a regiment to which he made application, the emperor would, beyond any doubt, confirm him. His Excellency seems to have been afraid that this admission might be interpreted in the sense that such a possibility was likely to arise and he added that in addition to other qualifications, an officer must be a man who can command respect (achtung-gebietende Persoenlichkeit.) A similar answer he gave to the "Verband der Deutschen Juden," who complained about a remark made by a judge in the course of the trial of Captain Count Gersdorff, charged with ill-treatment of a Jewish soldier. The judge had said that it is well known that it never has been an advantage to anybody in the army to be a Jew. The minister replied that the remark was ill-advised, but that it gave him no ground for official action. The first part of the answer clearly defines the condition. A spontaneous satire of history brought some very peculiar instances to light, which showed what kind of "achtung-gebietende Persoenlichkeit" is occasionally found amongst the officers of the German army. The same Count Gersdorff, who drove the Jewish volunteer to suicide, and who would certainly never have given to any Jewish soldier a character that would entitle him to a commission, was the hero of a very unpleasant incident. His wife's sister, married to another Captain, Count Pfeil, sued for divorce and told in the court the most shameful stories of the indignities, to which she had been subjected by her husband. In the course of the trial the fact that her sister, Countess von Gersdorff,

had committed suicide was mentioned. Countess von Pfeil was asked the cause of her sister's suicide, and said, "She committed the deed because she was married to just such a scamp as my husband is." In another case a chronique scandaleuse was revealed in the conduct of a general, which showed a degree of moral perversity which could not even remotely be told in a respectable paper. Of the various branches of the German administration, it is only the judiciary in which the Jews are permitted to occupy positions of any consequence, but even there they are limited. The judge of the Alsatian superior court, Levi, was proposed for appointment to the federal supreme court, but was not accepted, although he possesses rare qualification, both as a jurist and in his social standing. His father, Simon Levi, as a member of the Bavarian diet, urged in 1870 that Bavaria join the North German Federation in the war against France, when the clericals who were opposed to the hegemony of a Protestant state opposed the motion. Levi was not appointed because the supreme court must retain its exclusive Teutonic character. The antisemitic member of the Reichstag, Werner, congratulated the minister on his stand, January 20, but the latter found it advisable not to acknowledge the compliment. A government, discriminating against its own citizens at home, will not go out of its way to urge their right to be treated on equal footing with other Germans, when they travel in Russia. The matter was discussed in the Reichstag March 15, but will not lead to any result. Under these conditions it is regrettable that at a Jewish

gathering a great tactical error was committed. The Union of German Congregations held its annual meeting at Breslau, October 16-18. The governor of the province, von Zedlitz-Truetzschler, was present. Rabbi Guttmann delivered an address on Judaism and Christianity, in which he made some remarks, correct in themselves, but surely apt to give offense to a devout Christian, who, being an invited guest, had a right to feel offended, and he gave expression to his feeling in a protest against these remarks. The publication of Harnack's "Christianity" about ten years ago, has stimulated Jewish apologetics and produced some very good works. Guttmann is a very sound scholar and has done very meritorious work in the line of systematic theology, but if a convention of the character of the Union of Congregations is to hear some theological address, it certainly ought to exclude everything of a polemical nature.

The relation of state and church in Germany does not come within the jurisdiction of the federal government, but is reserved to the states. Therefore the states deal largely with the questions of Jewish congregational life. This is especially the case in the small states, which have considered it their duty to "educate the Jews and to raise them to a higher level of citizenship" by lending the state's support to communal organizations. Prussia, by far the largest of the German states, has never recognized Judaism as a religion entitled to the same privileges as the Protestant and Catholic churches. It is in keeping with this tradition that a judge in Koschmin of the province of Posen wanted to force a Jew to answer

summons on Sabbath and when the Jew asked for a postponement of the case, the judge said that this was a Christian country, and even a Jew had to obey Christian authorities. A complaint lodged with the minister resulted in a declaration that this remark was tactless. More serious is the treatment of foreign Jews. In spite of the constitutional equality, which in Prussia dates back to 1848, the government considers it still its duty to discriminate against foreign Jews. The matter came up before the city council of Posen, where it was proven that foreign Protestants coming from Poland are naturalized, while to foreign Jews naturalization is persistently denied.

In the years following the battle of Waterloo, the German states, which had been under French rule, retained the Napoleonic law of 1808, which discriminated against Jewish merchants in credit operations, when the same law had been abandoned in France long ago. Now there is a phenomenon of a directly opposite character. France declared the separation of state and church, while in Alsace, which for forty years was under German administration, the state still subsidizes the various churches, and upholds the hierarchical constitution of the consistory, not found in any other German state. The diet of Alsace passed a law which redistricts the rabbinates and reduces them from 40 to 31, March 19. The measure became necessary because during these forty years the number of Jews in Alsace has constantly decreased, and particularly the congregations in the villages were affected by the movement of the popu-

lation. It was a touching tribute to the worth of a man that one congregation was maintained out of regard for the aged rabbi, who did not wish to change his position. It is the congregation of Sennheim, of which Solomon Bamberger, the son of the illustrious rabbi of Wuerzburg, has been minister for many years. The government wished to transfer the seat of the rabbinate from this place, too, but in the diet members insisted that during the lifetime of the present incumbent the status should remain unchanged. The little principality of Birkenfeld, found it also necessary to amend the laws on the rights and duties of the Landrabbiner, who is to guard the spiritual welfare of about 500 souls. The little Duchy of Anhalt, which in spite of a large legacy left to it by the late Baroness Cohn-Oppenheim, is constantly losing its Jewish population, issued an ordinance by which pupils are excused from attending school on holydays. The Grand Duchy of Baden, which is the classic country for state supervision of the Jewish religion, with its Oberrat and its synod, also issued detailed regulations for instruction of religion in public schools. The main question, however, on the rights of the orthodox, who refuse to send their children to the official instruction in religion, was not touched. This internal strife between the orthodox and the liberal elements is particularly intense and complicated in Bavaria. The legal basis of the religious organization there is still the law of 1813, which recognizes only one congregation in one city. In the Grand Duchy of Baden, it was the orthodox party which protested against this coercion and obtained

—the first case in Germany—in 1869 a court decision permitting the secession of the orthodox element. Prussia and the Grand Duchy of Hesse followed in 1876. In Bavaria the orthodox rabbis are not in favor of the separation, perhaps because in the majority of congregations the orthodox are in power, and do not wish congregational life to be weakened by the right of resignation. The matter was discussed in the diet, May 31, and the minister declared that he would give to the question his earnest attention. Meantime they are having a great deal of fun in the controversies. The orthodox in Munich protested against the religious instruction given in the city schools, because the teacher does not cover his head. The government rendered a decision which again was not satisfactory to the liberal element. The latter, which is in power in Nuremberg, protested against the granting of the privilege of the school rooms for the instruction of the children of orthodox parents, who on the ground of conscientious scruples, do not attend the regular instruction in religion. This interest in internal affairs does not by any means prove that the political situation of the Jews is any better. The Bavarian government showed its desire to accommodate Russia by the order demanding the removal of Fabiansky's pogrom picture from the art exhibition in Munich, and councillor von Schaetz said to an official who complained about the disregard of his constitutional rights—the details were not given in the newspaper report—that constitutional rights did not amount to much, for according to the constitution the Jews ought to have access to all

official positions, "but we do not appoint them." When the matter was made public, the man naturally denied having made this remark, and as no witness was present, it can not be proven which of the two told the truth, but Minister von Wehner, when asked why Jews had never been appointed as teachers at Gymnasiums, made an evasive reply in the diet, May 24. Bavaria, on the other hand, presents a more favorable picture in army appointments, for in a discussion in the diet on discrimination against Jews in the army, June 21-23, the minister pointed to the fact that there were 298 Jews who held the rank of officers in the Bavarian army, most of them in the medical service, but quite lately one, Samuel Zucker, was appointed lieutenant in the reserve. In the active force no Jew holds such a position which, however, may be accidental, as a military career, under the present conditions, will hardly appeal to a Jew. Of the smaller states in Southern Germany, the Grand Duchy of Hesse presents a favorable situation. The government there always took a strong stand against active antisemitism, but recognized the movement silently by not appointing Jews to positions on the bench or in the school service. Of late this principle has been abandoned, and for the first time a Jew, Dr. May, was appointed judge in Osthofen, and a woman, Frau Dr. Schapiro, in Mayence, was given the first appointment on the police force ever obtained by a woman.

The reign of Francis Joseph, who holds the record in the long history of the house of Hapsburg-Lothrigen, both as to age and years of rule, is epoch-

making in Jewish history. With the exception of the provisional constitution, issued in April, 1848, the marvelous change in the condition of the Jews is the work of his government. From the almost mediaeval condition before 1848, when Jews were treated as political outlaws, until now, when they possess full equality, great progress has been made. The emperor is a very devout Catholic, but filled with a sense of justice to all of his subjects, including the Jews. The political situation, however, is not entirely dependent on a monarch's personal views, and in Austria clericalism is a trump card. In some respects the logic of history makes itself felt. In spite of the power which clericalism wields, Jews have obtained high positions. There were during the last year six Jews appointed to high positions on the bench (Oberlandesgerichtsrat). It was not until 1868, that a Jew was appointed as judge, and that promotion now comparatively frequent was not obtained by any Jew until 1899. The only position which, as it seems, is still denied to the Jew, in the judicary career, is that of judge of the supreme court. There is one Jew, a member of this body, but he is merely assigned to do service there temporarily, being still kept on the roster of the Oberlandesgericht. Another important appointment is that of the manufacturer and contractor, Bernhard Wetzel, as member of the House of Lords. In this respect Austria stands on equal footing with England and Italy. Prussia has no Jew in the House of Lords, while Austria has at present six. It is strange that the ministry was attacked for this appointment in Parliament not by antisemites, but by

Jews who claimed that Wetzler had bought his honor by corrupt practices, another illustration of the supposed clannishness of Jews. The ministry has in its midst two outspoken antisemites, and needs the support of the Christian Socialist party, which is bound to be antisemitic, and now more than ever, because the death of the leader of the party, Karl Lueger, the mayor of Vienna, March 10, seriously impaired the discipline in the formerly so well organized body. Various scandals have come to light, showing that this party, which was founded as an anti-corruptionist organization, is corrupt to the core, and its leaders are shameless grafters. In order to paralyze the influence of these exposures, something had to be done, and this something took the shape of an order prohibiting peddling in Vienna. By this measure, which will ruin many poor Jews, the narrow-minded Vienna shopkeeper is to be kept in line. The city council presided over by a mediocre man, disgraced itself before the whole civilized world, by ignoring the eightieth birthday of the great composer, Karl Goldmark. Lueger had a better sense of propriety, when he paid a just tribute to the memory of the great tragedian, Adolph von Sonnenthal, and when he spoke words of appreciation in the Jewish cemetery at the funeral of Theodore von Goldschmidt, a member of the city council. The Jews have shown some sound political judgment by defeating a converted Jew who was a candidate for the city council. Apostasy in still very frequent in Vienna, although it seems that the total for this year will fall below that of last year. The Jewish papers published the

names of the apostates and it is strange that the Socialists introduced a motion into the Reichsrat to prohibit this practice as a boycott. The Reichsrat is very often the theater of the most scandalous outbreaks of rudeness. The Czech clerical, Wenzel Mysliwec, who was provoked at the compliments which Roosevelt paid to the Hungarians, called him a Jew and predicted a pogrom, if the Jews did not moderate their antagonism to the church. This antagonism on the part of the Jews to the church is, of course, a mere antisemitic fabrication. Austria has still some mediaeval laws on her statute books, among which is the prohibition of divorce for Catholics The courts recognize merely the right of separation, but do not allow such practically divorced Catholics to remarry. A society was formed to obtain legislation which will remedy this evil. There is another agitation by Catholics on foot against the coercion exercised by the school authorities to compel school children to go to confession and to attend mass. Jews are only remotely connected with such movements as members of societies agitating a change in the law, but it suits the policy of the clericals to make the Jews responsible for anything which displeases them. The talk of pogrom is an empty demonstration, and it must be said that the Jews on their part are guilty of similar, although not so wicked, offenses, a case in point being the foolish act of a Jewish lawyer who sent a brief in Yiddish to the courts, and carried the matter to the supreme court which decided that Yiddish was not a recognized language (landesuebliche Sprache) in Austria, October 28. As always

is the case, the clerical government likes to coquet with Jewish orthodoxy, and to this desire is due an order of the minister of commerce, that observant Jews have a right to demand that registered letters and packages shall not be delivered to them on their Sabbath. An important political decision was reached in the province of Bukowina, where a new bill for the elections to the diet provided that delegates should be elected by national groups. The Jews demanded to be recognized as such a national group, and the government was for a time willing to grant this request, until the opposition of the Jews in western Austria caused the government to reconsider the action, and to assign the Jewish electors to the German group, with some provision that they should receive proper representation, October 5. A special representation of the Jews in the diet has been granted to the Jewish population in the newly annexed province of Bosnia, where all delegates are elected according to their religious affiliation, there being groups of Mohammedans, Greek—and Roman-Catholics. The Jews are represented there by the chief rabbi of the Sefardic community of Serajewo, and by an elected member, who this time was also selected from the Sefardic community, which represents the settlers living there from the time of the Turkish government. The most serious problem of the Austrian Jews arises from the economic condition of the Jews of Galicia. The province is over-populated, lacks industrial activity, and the Hasidic influence also contributes to the backwardness of the population. A change of the old Polish law which gave to the nobles the privilege

of distilleries on their estates, and which was mostly farmed out to Jews, will affect thousands of poor people, who, losing their former business, are suddenly deprived of the means of earning a living. The government called a conference for September 19, to consider their condition, and that of the Galician Jews in general. At the time of this writing reports are not at hand, but it can easily be foreseen that whatever action is taken, is bound to prove inadequate. The ruling party, which consists of a combination of the nobles, and the Catholic clergy, is naturally hostile to the Jews. A number of minor instances in the practice of officials illustrates this daily. As a trifling affair, but at the same time a good illustration, the fact may be quoted that the postmaster of Przemysl, a city of about 50,000 inhabitants, of whom perhaps the majority are Jews, refuses to sell 3-heller stamps at the time of Rosh Hashanah, claiming that his supply was exhausted. It is simply a ruse to force the Jews to pay higher postage for their New Year's cards. The utter disregard for public opinion is seen in the sentence, passed by the court of Cracow on Esther Frisch, who keeps a grocery in that city. She was sentenced to seven days in jail January 3, for having insulted the Catholic church, by wrapping groceries in waste-paper, which had the "Sacred Heart" on it, although she bought this paper legitimately at the Jesuit Convent, which is publishing the "Sacred Heart Magazine." The central authorities seem to have been ashamed of this fact and recommended to the emperor the pardon of this "criminal." Less fortunate was a Polish Jew who

happened to meet a church procession, being hemmed in by the crowd so that he could not avoid it. He refused to take off his hat and had to serve a term in prison for this insult to the Catholic church. In Hungary the clerical party was disappointed in its hope of carrying the election to the diet with the aid of extreme nationalists. The cabinet of Count Khuen-Hedervary is now firmly established and the new diet has eleven Jewish members, a much smaller number than the last diet, which counted twenty-three Jews. The premier was interviewed during the campaign, on his attitude to the antisemitic movement inaugurated by the Catholic party, and he gave the perfectly correct reply, that to answer this question would be an insult, since he had taken the oath of office, to obey the constitution. In one respect, however, even the present cabinet shows discrimination against the Jews by the persecution of Galician Jews, who seem to be quite numerous in the northern part of the country. It may be, however, due to the consideration that the increase of this population is retarding the process of amalgamation of the Jews with the Magyar element. A rather curious feature of this policy is the refusal of the government to allow the organization of Zionist societies. More important is an incident in municipal life. In the city of Satoralya-Ujhely, the Jew, Dr. Solomon Reicher, was elected mayor but the clergy started such a fierce agitation that he was forced to resign.

Belgium has an insignificant Jewish population and in spite of the predominance of the clerical ele-

ment, conditions seem favorable. There is an organization of the Jews on the basis of the French consistorial organization, and the new king, upon his ascension to the throne received a committee of the Jews in the same way he granted audience to other bodies. The young king of Portugal on his visit to London, granted an audience to the representatives of the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish congregations, Nov. 14, who greeted him as a sovereign of the country from which they originally came, when the congregation was organized 250 years ago. The same demonstration was made when King Alphonse of Spain visited London five years ago. At that time the Zionists were quite indignant at this act of self-humiliation, as they called it, in which two of their prominent members, chief rabbi Gaster, and Sir Francis H. Montefiore, participated. The latter was hissed in the Congress of Basel, and the former preferred not to appear on the platform. The whole thing is an innocent pastime, and King Manuel has harder problems to deal with than the question of such courtesies, although he may indeed be impressed with the idea that, had his country adopted the broad policy of England, he would not be facing such a crisis now. A really important event is presented in Spain, where for the first time in history, a Jew, the banker, Gustave Bauer, was elected member of the Cortes, and while the number of Jews in Spain is by far too insignificant to figure in the political life of the nation, the law which granted freedom of public worship is a historic event in Judaism too. Another interesting event is the granting of a subsidy for

Jewish religious instruction in Greece. The number of Jews in that country is still insignificant, with the exception of the island of Corfu. The Greeks were always hostile to the Jews from the time of Alexander the Great, and only under Turkish, Venetian, and Norman rule, were Jewish communities established in Greece, many of whom emigrated when Greece became independent. King George stated to a Jewish committee in Corfu, in 1879, that he would consider it a happy event if he were to see the first Jew as a member of the Parliament. That time seems far distant, judging from the spirit shown by the Greek population. Last year came near furnishing us with a repetition of the events of 1891 in Corfu, when in the island of Crete a blood-accusation was spread. It was fortunate that the girl, supposed to have been murdered, turned up in due time.

The change from an Oriental into a somewhat Occidental form of government was certainly a misfortune for the Jews of Rumania. Their martyrdom began from the moment when they passed under the rule of the socalled "French of the Orient." The most serious feature of their condition is that it shows, how even an international intervention is useless unless it is backed by the force of arms. The Berlin Congress adopted, in 1878, as part of the conditions under which Rumania should be granted independence, the abolition of all restrictions, based on religious belief. Rumania submitted, but, declaring the Jews to be foreigners, including those who were born in the country and had served in the army, she treated them as outlaws. One must consider it an act of mock-

ery, when during the past year fifteen Jews received their naturalization, which makes a total of 200 naturalizations granted since 1878. Figuring that these 200 naturalizations affect 1,000 souls, it means that 99.75 percent of the Jewish population are treated as foreigners, without a home of their own. This act of grace to the fifteen parties was perhaps devised as an offset to another ruinous measure directed against the Jewish population. A new law grants state subsidies to manufacturers who employ domestic labor to the extent of 80 per cent, calculated on the basis of wages paid. It means that Jews are excluded from working in factories and even from holding clerical positions in a manufacturing establishment. The protest of the Jews was unavailing. By the side of this measure the petty persecutions continue. Expulsions from villages and arbitrary acts of officials are of daily occurrence. The brutal act of a high army officer, who slapped a man's face in a street car, because he believed him to be a Jew, shows the spirit prevalent in the upper classes. It is interesting that with all the anti-foreign agitation, one of the leaders of the movement, Professor Jorga, is himself the son of a Bulgarian father and a Greek mother, and the grandson of a Russian. This Jorga interpellated Premier Bratiano, the son of the statesman who invented the plan of frustrating the Berlin treaty, on the question of a Jewish congress, which was to be held in Rumania. The premier replied that Rumania was a free country, where everybody had the right of public assembly but this privilege does not include foreigners, February 4. The premier happened to be

indignant, because some papers which employ Jews on their staff, had exposed the graft of which he had been guilty. The king himself is powerless, and he undoubtedly spoke the truth, when he said in an interview granted to a correspondent of the "Neue Freie Presse," May 5, that no statesman could carry out a policy against the will of the country. The country, in this case means the landed proprietors, and those affiliated with them, who, although a small minority, manage the affairs of the country.

The sore spot on the Jewish body politic is the condition in Russia, which was best characterized in the Duma March 5 by the Jewish member, Friedman, when he said that, aside from the absence of pogroms, the condition of the Jew is far worse than it was before the constitution had been promulgated. An insight into the general condition of the country is gained through the fact that during the year 1909, 1,435 death sentences were passed in the country, and the number of known executions reaches 549. There are in all likelihood more, because the government does not publish any statistics of them and the statistics gathered from newspaper reports are naturally incomplete. Reaction is in full swing. The Czar received a Jewish deputation in Odessa, and replied to their adress of homage in a few cold words, October 20. His own sentiment is clearly demonstrated by the honor he bestowed on Prince Meshtscherski, the editor of the antisemitic paper, "Grazhdanin," on the occasion of his fiftieth anniversary, when he handed him his portrait with the autographic dedication, "To the indefatigable worker for the preser-

vation of the Russian empire." By the side of these official facts, of which there is documentary evidence, the rumors of proposed reforms mean very little. One of these may be mentioned because it was exploded in time. Various papers reported that Premier Stolypin received a Jewish committee in the government of Kovno and promised an improvement of the political condition of the Jews, provided the latter would change their political attitude. The fact underlying this report was, upon later investigation, proved to be this: Stolypin spent the summer on his estate, near Lida, Government of Kovno. One Sunday as he was going to church, the people greeted him, and he, like the squire of the good, olden times, had a few kind words for those whom he knew. Amongst others, he hailed a Jewish teamster, Hirsch Goldberg, with the humorous remark, "Well, Hirsch, how is the smuggling trade, are you still at it?" Hirsch fell in with the joke and said: "Thanks, Your Excellency; fine!" whereupon Stolypin said: "Next time you had better be careful when you speak to the premier." Everybody took this as a joke, but poor Hirsch was to learn the serious part of it, for, a few months later, he received an order of expulsion from the border district as a professional smuggler. His real attitude Stolypin showed in receiving a committee of the rabbinical conference March 29, which, convened by the government, met in St. Petersburg March 15 to April 17. Although the committee was received in audience by appointment, they had to wait for nearly two hours before they were admitted, and in reply to their request for an improvement of the condition

of the Jews Stolypin said that he could not make any definite promises, but improvement would have to be slow, because the Jews took a disproportionately large part in the revolution, and before their condition can be bettered they must show their loyalty to the Czar and the country. The convention itself was quite a remarkable event, inasmuch as it comprised all shades of Russian Jews, from the Hasidic rabbi, Schneirsohn, to the very liberal lawyers, who represented the St. Petersburg community. Whether it will have any effect remains to be seen. The same government which treats the Jews as a class regardless of their differences of education and political standing demands that the Jews should amalgamate with the Russian population. The commissioner of the government at the conference objected to the use of the term "Obschtchina" (community), and demanded that the term "Prichod" (congregation) should be used. Similar motives inspired the various actions taken against Zionist societies. The Senate decided that such societies are bound to widen the breach between Jews and non-Jews, but, on the other hand, this breach is widened by the same authorities when some of them will not allow Jewish students to coach Christian students, and, in one instance, a principal of a gymnasium in the Government of Kieff threatened a Christian student with expulsion for tutoring a Jewish family. A hot-bed of antisemitism is Odessa, where the real leader of the government is the city governor, Tolmatchoff. The most typical Russian case was the annullment of the election of the lawyer, Arcadius Brodski, October 11, on the ground that

his real name was Aaron Brodski. He was fined 100 rubles for assuming a false name and the Senate refused to publish his election, so that he preferred to resign his seat December 12. The City Council, not being able to defeat the Jewish candidate, passed a resolution to petition the Emperor to withdraw the electoral franchise from the Jews. This Tolmatchoff is really ingenious in his inventions of measures of persecution. At one time he demanded that all synagogs must have the imperial crown with the cross on it over their portals, so that they can use it for illumination on national holidays. In another instance he considered it a disgrace to see a cross in a Jewish place. A Jewish stone mason, who had made monuments for Christians, was, upon the order of the Governor, charged with violating the law which prohibits the dealing in articles of Christian worship by Jews, and, while Tolmatchoff wishes a cross over the entrance of a synagog, the Governor of Smolensk orders the synagog to be torn down, because it had a dome resembling that of the Christian churches. With great difficulty the congregation obtained from the Minister a repeal of the order, under the promise that the roof would be altered. The contradictory nature of the government's policy appears in many ways. One one hand, police and administrative authorities prohibit the use of Yiddish in literary societies; on the other hand, some authorities will not allow Jews to become Christians. The Lutheran consistory received an order not to convert any Jews, and a similar order was issued to the Armenian patriarch, for, if Jews are to convert, they must convert to the

Greek Catholic Church. Reactionaries find the Jews a convenient scapegoat. The great hero of the Japanese War, Alexis Kuropatkin, in a recently published book, "Russia for the Russians," pleads for the exclusion of the Jews from the army. Unfortunately we can not say that this hostile sentiment is confined to the bureaucratic circles. The sessions of the Duma present often a very sad spectacle. Whatever legislative measures were taken for the Jews were hostile. A bill, which introduced autonomous county administration in the territory of the former Kingdom of Poland, excluded the Jews from representation in the elections for the Zemstvos, June 10. A committee on this bill went even one step further by introducing a report to exclude the Jews from holding offices under the Zemstvos, a motion which was directed chiefly against Jewish physicians in county hospitals. This report failed to receive the necessary majority because even Nationalists declared it impossible to dispense with Jewish physicians, June 6. The same hostile spirit was manifest in a debate on the Sunday law, which was made so drastic in order to deprive the Jews of the very poor susteance which they obtain from shopkeeping in the towns of the Pale. In the course of this debate, May 13-14, Nikolski, the spokesman of the cadets, said: "If the Jew keeps his religion, he is denounced; if he is a liberal in religion, he is denounced again." A motion of the most rabid antisemite, Markoff, who wanted to exclude the Jews from holding office as Justices of the Peace, failed to pass, because the conservative Octobrists declared that the Jewish question must be

treated separately. This, however, does not mean that the Jews may hold such offices. It merely means that the law does not give or deny them the right expressly. In the same way the Duma refused to pass an amendment by the Jewish member, Friedman, to a new building code. The code provides that persons not having the right of residence in a city can not build any houses there. Friedman amended this provision so that it should not apply to Jews, but his motion was lost, April 16. Another motion to recognize Yiddish as a language in the schools of the Pale in the same way in which the languages of other nationalities are recognized failed to pass. The strangest thing is that the government, with all the complaints against the Jews as being an economic evil discourages all attempts at taking up agriculture. The few colonies that exist from the time of Nicholas I, are in every possible way persecuted by the authorities. They are not permitted to participate in bids for the rent of government land, and even that land which they hold, exceptionally under special grants as soldiers who fought in the Japanese War, is taken from them upon the expiration of their lease. The worst persecution of all, however, exists in the school system. Minister Schwartz is prolific in devising laws, discriminating against the Jews. The worst of all is the recent enactment that private schools must keep within the percent limit. The condition is this: When the restrictions on school attendance were introduced in 1887, Jews would send their children to existing private schools, or establish new Jewish schools. The minister is afraid that this

may lead to an evasion of the law, although only the prosperous classes could avail themselves of such an opportunity. He therefore declared that all private schools, if they wish to share the privileges of public schools in recognition at the universities, must introduce the percent limit. In another order he applied a strict limit to commercial schools, which is a greater hardship still, for, while in the case of the high schools, the objection would be that the Jews would in time form too large a percentage in the universities and in the professions, there can be no such objections to commercial schools which prepare their pupils for practical life. Another order demanded that within three years the percent limit must be strictly enforced. By the side of these rulings some other measures, oppressive as they are, sink into comparative insignificance. Thus the privilege granted in 1905 to the children of soldiers who had fought in the war, admitting them regardless of the percent limit is now withdrawn. In excursions of students Jews can not take part, unless the minister grants a special permit. These constant rules and orders and interpretations lead to such confusion that the courts, including the Senate, are perplexed in giving decisions. It is perhaps due to this condition that the bill declaring the abrogation of the so-called Pale, which was introduced June 13 by the Jewish member, Friedman, in the Duma, received 166 signatures, amongst them even from members of the reactionary party. A type of this confusion is found in a declaration of the Senate on the question, whether Jews, living outside of the Pale, have a right to spend the

summer in a village. This question was brought before the Senate by the Minister of the Interior, who thereby declared that he did not know the law on that point. The Senate began to discuss this question April 1, and on May 20, having devoted four sessions to the discussion, declared itself incompetent to solve it. Another proof of the confusion is a recent ruling of the Senate that the police may demand from every Jewish merchant living outside of the Pale documentary evidence that he did not exhaust the time of six months, which the law allows him every year. That means that a commercial traveler must present, upon coming to St. Petersburg, a certified list of the towns which he visited and the time he spent in each town. The enforcement of the law on the restriction of residence was particularly severe in Kieff, and the daily press published for a time almost daily stories of horrors. American authorities were even approached with a request to interfere in this matter. Unfortunately—one almost feels compelled to say—the incident was not as bad as rumor had it. Kieff is situated within the Pale, but the city itself is not open to Jews. In spite of this fact, a large number of Jews reside there. Some on the ground of exceptional privilege, others in definance of the law, and in most instances with the toleration of the police A liberal member in the Duma said properly: "The restrictive laws serve two purposes; one to provide the police with graft by being violated, and another giving them a chance to rise as a reward for their zeal in enforcing them." Kieff had a large number of these cases, and some active official began to show his patriotism by ordering expulsions, which began May

14. A condition which was far worse was a case in Moscow, in which a man had the right of residence as a clerk in a large business house and his wife had the right of residence as a midwife, and yet the police ordered the expulsion of their three children, who were of the ages of 4 to 10 years. In this case the Senate reversed the decision of the police, April 8. One can easily understand what such complicated laws on the most primitive rights of human beings mean for the individual. They are now being carried out with a barbarity that baffles description, and the autonomous bodies like city councils and Zemstvos fall in line, the most ingenious and disgraceful decision being that of a mayor who introduced a percent limit applying to Jewish cattle of which only a certain percentage is permitted on the village pasture. The Russian statesmen seem to derive satisfaction from the fact that in Finland the condition of the Jews is still worse. Suvoroff published a book, which was also translated into German, in which he attacks the Finns for demanding autonomy when they oppress the Jews far more than does Russia. It is true that Finnish law maintains old Swedish regulations dating from the eighteenth century, which exclude the Jews entirely. The Finnish diet adopted a more liberal measure at its last session, November 17-18. The bill, however, could not be made a law, because the diet was dissolved on the following day. A new bill in preparation already becomes characteristic by the title, "On Jews and Gypsies."

The introduction of a parliamentary form of government in Persia and the changes in Morocco have not in the slightest way improved the condition of the

Jews. Their status continues there, just exactly as it was in the era of the Crusades in Europe. One official, in order to blackmail the Jews, makes a number of them prisoners and forces them to work on Rosh Hashanah. Another who demands of the Jewish butchers a special tribute in the shape of meat for his hounds, punishes those who refuse to furnish what he demands, by imprisoning them on Yom Kippur. The only remedy lies with representatives of the Alliance Israelite, who are appealed to in such cases. They either go directly to the grand vizier or report their complaints to headquarters in Paris, whereupon the French ambassador is requested to use his good offices with the sultan, and the result is a word of assurance that the case will be investigated and the guilty official punished, but conditions remain just as they were. Exactly the same is the condition in Persia. The central government is powerless, and the governors in the provinces deal with their Jewish subjects as they please, and even if occasionally they should try to prevent murder and pillage, they are afraid of the priests, who preach violence. The last year brought us a brutal case of murder in Sannah April 30, where a rich Jew was cruelly murdered under the charge that he held illicit relations with a Mohammedan woman, while the actual cause was that he refused to yield to blackmail. Another case of pillage, which assumed very grave importance, occurred in Hamadan, May 9.

The ideals of the Zionists seem to be just as remote from realization as ever. Nasim Bey, the leader of the Young Turks, declared himself strongly against Zionism, and the government is not by any means

more favorable to it. There is, however, a more serious condition revealed by the fact that the promised improvements are slow to come. Neither roads, nor harbor improvements, nor water works, nor a clearly defined right of acquiring real estate has been promulgated. The only event which may be chronicled as an improvement is a grant from public funds to a Jewish hospital. On the other hand, police excesses in Salonica, and in Adrianople, June 20, show that the Turkish official can no more be trusted than his colleague in Persia. The prohibition of immigration to Palestine continues in force and, while it is easily evaded, there are far more serious obstacles in the growing hostility of the Arabic peasants, from which the Jewish colonists are suffering severely. An important event in the way of progress was the election of three Jews to the city council of Jerusalem, so that for the first time in 1,840 years Jews have again a voice in the administration of their ancient capital. In this connection Tunis may be mentioned, although it is practically a French province. After years of controversy the French government adopted one progressive measure. The law of April 15 allows the naturalization of Jews who have served in the French army. In this way the arbitrary rule of Mohammedan courts, to which Jews were subjected in dealing with Mohammedans, and the inadequate rabbinical law, to which they had to have recourse in their internal affairs, are replaced by a more modern condition.

The hopes placed in the possibilities of Argentina by Baron de Hirsch have by no means been realized. The last report of the Ica gives us the number of

Jews in the Argentina colonies as 13,000, and the number of parties settled last year as 297. At this rate it would take a hundred years before the population would reach 100,000, and, therefore, the only tangible result of the large benefactions of the great philanthropist is to have opened up a new country and shown the way for newcomers. A solution of the problem of emigration the country certainly is not. It is unfortunate that a hostile attitude is noticeable in the native population. A demonstration of some anarchists, on the occasion of the centenary of Argentina's independence, against the "Russos," was probably inspired by anti-Jewish feelings, and so in all likelihood the prohibition of the Heders, although this is claimed to be necessary as an educational measure. Ill-foreboding are also some cases of assassination in the colonies. A more promising land seems to be South Africa, which recently followed Canada and Australia by forming a federation. The number of Jews who were called to municipal honors is quite gratifying, most prominent amongst them, the election of Harry Graumann as mayor of Johannesburg, an impressive piece of news when it is considered that only ten years ago he could not even vote at a municipal election.

Zionism has certainly had a bad year. This is stated from the point of view of the calm historic observer, without the slighest desire to greet the fact as welcome. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the convention of Kattowitz was celebrated on November 7, but even an enthusiast will not say that the rapid progress made since that time has not been followed

by signs of decay. The congress held in Hamburg, December 26-31, was certainly a failure. If for no reason then because it failed to elect its officers. The subsequent split in the English Zionist Federation, July 17, and the resignation of President Dreyfus, who plainly stated that the movement did not interest him any more, is another serious blow. The Berlin conference of Zionist leaders, June 27-28, with the subsequent announcement of Nordau and Warburg that they could not accept office, shows a state of decomposition. The political situation in Turkey and the economic situation in Palestine have not improved in the sense in which Zionists must wish it. Mr. Zangwill, in his brilliant article in the "Fortnightly Review," pleads for Western Austrailia and it must be recognized that if the Zionists are right in their assertion, that the solution of the Jewish problem can only be worked out by the creation of a Jewish state, then Zangwill is right by calling attention to the fact that Palestine is, for the present at least, an impossibility, and Zionists must look elsewhere. This, of course, does not in any way prove that Territorialists would be more successful than the Ica was in Argentina, although they have a perfect right to ask that they be given a chance. Similarly undecided are religious conditions. In the forefront of the movement stands the Jewish Religious Union of England, with Mr. Montefiore at its head. The success of this movement is not merely emphasized by the acquisition of a synagog building, but still more by the effect which it has had on other organiztions. The old Reform congregation, the West London

Synagog of British Jews, appointed a committee to consider the introduction of English into the services, and similar reforms. Even the Orthodox United Synagog introduced Sabbath afternoon services with English prayers, sermons and choral singing. Hamburg, the pioneer Reform congregation, has gone a step further and introduced Sunday lectures, although with an emphatic protestation against the idea that these lectures are services. Germany held a convention of the Liberal Union at Nuremberg, and Judaism was represented at the congress of liberal religions at Berlin. Of the French Liberal Union nothing has been heard, and the very interesting Russian movement seems to be entirely abandoned. The teacher of Jewish religion in St. Petersburg high schools, Dr. Nahum Pereferkovitch, published an appeal in a St. Petersburg daily, September 26, to form a liberal congregation, but nothing came of it. America had during the year past two meetings of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, The first gave orthodoxy a good opportunity for denouncing the liberal wing as infidels, but aside from the exchange of such courtesies, communal life has not shown any decided change.

Of about three hundred new books that came within the range of the observation of the reviewer during the last year, only a few can be mentioned by title, and none in any way adequately discussed. Attention may be called to the publication of an encyclopedia on Islam, and to the rapid progress of the Catholic Encyclopedia, while the self-sacrificing zeal of J. D. Eisenstein resulted in the publishing of

the fourth volume of his Hebrew encyclopedia, and Ben Jehuda's general Hebrew dictionary has progressed to the letter "Dalet," but the indefatigable zeal of Isidore Singer does not seem to have succeeded in bringing out the meritorious work of an anthology of the whole Jewish literature in English. To attempt an outline of literary works that have appeared is a task for which the space of a newspaper would not suffice. In illustrating this point it may be said that the works comprise a range of twenty-five centuries. S. Daiches gave us an interesting investigation of the Jews in Babylonia, and Ludwig Geiger a volume on the towering personality of his father, Abraham Geiger. Of American authors who have the first claim on our attention, Ginzberg's "The Legends of the Jews," Margolis' Aramaic Grammar, Amram's Old Italian Prints, de Sola Pool's Treatise on the Kaddish, Sulzberger's original demonstration of a parliament in ancient Israel, must be mentioned. A German work of more than average interest, written by an American author, is Kohler's systematic theology, a much needed and long-looked-for work on this important subject. In Hebrew we have the very interesting travels of Selikovitsch and a volume of poems by Ezekiel Leavitt and in Yiddish the inimitable humor of Zevin presented to us with brilliant sketches of Russian life in America. It is impossible to give a complete list of historical works on certain parts of Jewish history, such as Oppenheim's excellent sketch of early Jewish History in New York, the valuable, though cumbersome, history of the Jews of Baden, by Levin; of Posnanski's

short, but valuable, treatise on modern Karaitic literature, or the presentation of the legal status of the Jews in Prussia, by Michaelis; in England, by Henriques; in Wuertemberg, by Gunzenhauser. The great variety in Jewish literature is exemplified by Ludwig Geiger's "Jews in German Literature," and by Debre's essay on the Jew in modern French fiction; still more by Mr. Montefiore's radical, though scholarly, book on the synoptic gospels; by the still more radical "Orpheus," of Solomon Reinach, and, as a counterpiece, the responsa of the late rabbi of Pressburg, Bunem Schreiber, with the discussion of the subtleties of rabbinical law, showing how Judaism is world-wide, not merely in its geographical distribution, but also in its thought.

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